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AN  
ESTIMATE  
OF THE  
COMPARATIVE STRENGTH  
OF

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GREAT-BRITAIN;  
AND OF THE  
LOSSES OF HER TRADE  
FROM EVERY WAR SINCE THE REVOLUTION;

WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION  
OF  
PREVIOUS HISTORY.

A NEW EDITION,  
CORRECTED AND CONTINUED TO  
1801.

To which is now annexed  
GREGORY KING'S  
*CELEBRATED STATE OF ENGLAND.*

By GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. S.A.

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LONDON:  
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THE  
P R E F A C E.

**D**URING the struggles of a great nation, for her safety, or renown, conjunctures often arise, when the person, whose station does not admit of his giving advice, ought to offer his informations. The present [1782—1794—1801] seemed to be such a time. And the Compiler of the following sheets, having collected, for a greater work, various documents, with regard to the national resources, thought it his duty to make an humble tender to the public of that authentic intelligence, which, amidst the wailings of despondency, had brought conviction, and comfort, to his own mind.

Little have they studied the theory of man, or observed his familiar life, who have not remarked, that the individual finds the highest gratification, in deploring the felicities of the past, even amidst the pleasures of the present. Prompted thus by temper, he has, in every age, complained of its decline, and depopulation, while the world was the most populous, and its affairs the most prosperous.

The reader, who honours the following sheets with an attentive perusal, may probably find, that though we have advanced, by wide steps, during the last century, in the science of politics, we have still much to learn; but that the summit can only be gained, by substituting accurate research, for delusive speculation, and by rejecting zeal of paradox, for moderation of opinion.

Mankind are now too enlightened to admit of confident assertion, in the place of satisfactory proof, or plausible novelty, for conclusive evidence. He, consequently, who proposes new modes of argument, must expect contradiction, and he, who draws novel conclusions from uncommon premises, ought to enable the reader to examine his reasonings; because it is just inquiry, which can alone establish the certainty of truth on the degradation of error. And little, therefore, is asserted, in the following sheets, without the citation of sufficient authorities, or the mention of authentic documents, which it is now proper to explain.

As early as the reign of James I. ingenuity exerted its powers to discover, through the thick cloud, which then enveloped an interesting subject, the value of our exports and of our imports; and thence, by an easy deduction, to find, whether we were gainers, or losers, by our traffic. Diligent inquirers looked into the entries at the custom-house, because they knew, that since a duty of five in the hundred was collected on the value of commodities, which were sent out and brought in, it would require no difficult calculation, to ascertain nearly the amount of both. And, during that reign, it was established as a rule, not only among merchants, but statesmen, to multiply the general value of the customs, inwards and outwards, by twenty, in order to find the true amount of the various articles, which formed the aggregate of our foreign trade.

Exceptionable as this mode was, it furnished, through several years of darkness, the only light, that our ancestors had to direct their inexperienced steps, notwithstanding the impatience of politicians, and even the efforts of ministers. It is difficult to induce the old to alter the modes of their youth. When the committee of the privy council for trade, urged the commissioners of the customs, about the end of Charles II.'s reign—"to enter the several commodities, which formed the exports and imports, to affix to each its usual



usual price, and to form a general total by calculating the value of the whole,"—the custom-house officers insisted,—“that, to comply with such directions, would require one half of the clerks of London.”—And the theorists of those times continued to satisfy their curiosity, and to alarm the nation, on the side of her commercial jealousy; since there existed no written evidence, by which their statements could be proved, or their declamations confuted.

It was to the liberality, no less than to the perseverance, of the House of Peers, that the public were at last indebted, in 1696, for the establishment of the Inspector-General of the Imports and Exports, and for *the Custom-house Ledger*, which contains the particulars, and value of both; and which forms, therefore, the most useful record, with regard to trade, that any country possesses.

From this authentic register, the parliament was yearly supplied with details, either for argument, or deliberation, and speculatists were furnished with extracts, for the exercise of their ingenuity, or the formation of their projects. And it is from this commercial register, that *the value of cargoes exported*, which will be so often mentioned in this work, was also taken.

But, as actual enjoyment seldom ensures continued satisfaction, what had been demanded for a century, when it was regarded as unattainable, was ere long derided, as defective, when it was possessed. And theorists, who pointed out the defects of an establishment, that could not be made perfect, found many believers, because men's pride is gratified, by seeing imperfection in all things.

When the committee of Peers originally affixed the price, whereby each article of export and import should in future be rated, they probably knew, that the successive fluctuation of demand, arising from the change of fashion, would necessarily raise the value of some articles, and sink the price of others; but, that the same fluctuation of taste, which, in one

age, occasioned an apparent error, would in the next re-establish the rule. Nor, did the Peers probably expect to ascertain the real value of the exports, or of imports, during the current year; as the prodigious extent of the calculation did not admit of a speedy deduction. But, they aimed, with a laudable spirit, to establish a standard, whereby a just comparison might be made, between any two given periods of the past; and thereby to infer, whether our manufactures, and commerce, prospered, or declined, prior to the current year. This information *the Ledger of the Inspector-General* does certainly convey, with sufficient accuracy, for the uses of practice, or the speculations of theory. The official value of the exports, and imports, has always been supposed to be much under the real value: from recent experience, we are now able to state the true amount of both. The value of British manufactures, which were exported, was,

	Official value.	Real value.
In 1798	- £.19,672,503	- £.33,148,682
1799	- 24,084,213	- 38,942,498
1800	- 24,304,284	- 39,471,203.

And by contrasting, in the following work, the average exports of distant years, we are by this means enabled to trace the rise, the decline, or the progress of traffic, at different periods, even in every year. The Inspector-General, who established that Ledger, in 1696, was William Culliford; who was succeeded, by Dr. Charles Davenant, in 1703. Yet, half informed writers assert, that Davenant was the original Inspector-General of exports and imports, "who formed those official values in 1697." See "a Survey of the Strength, and Opulence of Great Britain;" by the Rev. Dr. Clarke.

It is to the same age that we owe the establishment of *The register-general of shipping*. The original institution of this office arose from an indefinite clause in the commission of the customs, in 1701. Thus it continued incidental to the

the appointment of the Custom-house commissioners, till “the act for the union with Scotland, requiring the then ships of Scots property to be registered, in this office, it was thought fit to give it a distinct establishment, and at the same time to extend the account, which was kept before, of all ships trading over sea, or coastways, in England, to the ships in Scotland\*.”

The same reasons, which had induced the traders to enter at the Custom-house, in respect to their merchandizes, rather too much, incited them, with regard to their vessels, to register the burden rather too low, because a tonnage duty, they knew, would be often required of them, at many ports: in the first operation, they were governed by their vanity; in the second, by their interest: and if the one furnished an evidence too flattering, the other gives a testimony too degrading. Thus have we, in the entries of the shipping, at the Custom-house, all the certainty, that the entries of merchandize has been supposed to want. And, in the following work, the quantity of tonnage, rather than the number of ships, has been always stated, at different periods, with the value of cargoes, which they were supposed to transport, as being the most certain: when to the value of cargoes the tonnage is added, in the following pages, the reader is furnished with a supplemental proof to the useful notices, which each separately conveys.

Of the tonnage of vessels, which will so often occur, in the subsequent sheets, it must be always remembered, that they do not denote so many distinct ships, which performed so many single voyages: for, it frequently happens, that one vessel enters and clears at the Custom house, several times in one year, as the *colliers* of Whitehaven and Newcastle: but, these repeated voyages were in this manner always made, and will constantly continue; so that, being always

\* Charles Godolphin's Memorial to the Treasury, Dec. 1717.



included in the annual tonnage, we are equally enabled to form a comparative estimate of the advance, or decline, of our navigation, at any two given epochs of the past. It is to be, moreover, remembered, that the British vessels enter at the Custom-house by the registered tons, and not by the measured burden of the ship, which is supposed to be formerly one-third more; so that the reader may in every year, through the following statements, calculate the tonnage at one-third more, than the registered tonnage has given it, prior to the year 1786, when the new register-act commenced.

The office of inspector-general of imports and exports, for Scotland, was established only in 1755. And no diligence could procure authentic details of the Scots commerce, from any other source of genuine information. The blank, which appears in the preceding period, as to the Scots traffic, sufficiently demonstrates, that imperfect evidence, with regard to an important subject, is preferable to none; as the glim of dawn is more invigorating than the gloom of total opacity. Connected accounts of the shipping of Scotland cannot be given before 1759; because it is only from this year, that they have been regularly entered at the Custom-house, at least constantly kept. In respect to these, the same allowance must be made for *repeated voyages*, and the same augmentation for the *real burden* more than the *registered tonnage*. It is not pretended, that the before-mentioned Custom-house books convey the certainty of mathematical demonstration. It is sufficient, that they contain *the best evidence, which the nature of the case admits*.

The subject of population is so intimately connected, with every estimate of the strength of nations, that the compiler was induced to inquire into the populousness of England, at different periods, from the earliest times to the present. In this difficult discussion, men, at once candid, and able, have

have spoken a language, often contradictory to each other, and sometimes inconsistent with their own premises.

The Lord Chief Justice Hale, and Gregory King, in the seventeenth century, and Doctor Campbell and Doctor Price, in the present times, maintained opinions directly the reverse of each other, in respect to the question, Whether the people of this island have not gradually increased, during every age, or sometimes diminished, amid public convulsions, and private misery. The two first—the one a great master of the rules of evidence; and the other a skilful calculator, have agreed in maintaining the affirmative of that question. Doctor Campbell has laboured to shew, that the inhabitants of England diminished, in their numbers, under the misrule of feudal sovereigns. And Doctor Price has equally contended, that the people have decreased, since a happier government was introduced at *the Revolution*, and that they continue to decrease.

It is proposed to review, historically, the sentiments of each, with design rather to ascertain the authenticity of their facts, than to establish, or overturn, their several systems. The candid inquirer may perhaps see cause for lamenting, in his progress, that the learned are sometimes too confident, and the unlettered always too credulous. And he will have an opportunity, as he advances, of listening to the sentiments of his ancestors, on various topics of legislation, and of observing the condition of different ranks of men, previous to the period, at which THIS ESTIMATE properly begins.

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This Estimate was first published, in 1782. The public approbation has called, successively, for several editions. It has been translated, meanwhile, into the French, the Russian, and other foreign languages. It has furnished comfort to the people, at home, from that year, to the present: and, during  
that

that long period, it has impressed upon the minds of other nations high ideas of the opulence, and power, of Great Britain. It also shewed to our writers, on political œconomy, an example of the great importance of collecting many documents, and of trusting more to the weight of facts, than to the efficacy of words. In search both of documents, and of facts, our minor œconomists have pillaged *this ESTIMATE*, without limitation; and with less acknowledgment, than disregard.

I was the first, who disclosed to the public, that, in every war, there is a point of depression, to which the spring of trade may be thrust down, by the force of hostilities; and from which, it invariably rebounds with augmented force. This consoling discovery was impugned, at the commencement of the late war. I came out to maintain my principle; by insisting that what had always happened would again happen. Experience has now decided the certainty of a comfortable truth for ever. At the epoch of that controversy, the whole value of our exports was £.20,399,180, in 1793: the official value of our whole exports, gradually, rose to £.43,152,019, in 1800. Yet, has this discovery been adopted, with great complacency, by a late writer, as his own. Mr. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur has in his *Political Facts*, p. 30, the following passage: “It is no less curious than interesting to observe, that in every war since the Revolution (*except the present and the war of 1756*) our exports, compared with an equal number of years in the preceding peace, were always considerably diminished; but that soon after the return of peace the value of exports rose beyond their former level.” Mr. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur had under his eye my Estimate, p. 70, where it is said:—“An attentive examination of the cargoes exported, will convince every candid mind, that, in every war, there is a point of depression, in trade, as there is in all things, beyond which it does not decline; and from which it gradually rises beyond the extent of its former



“former greatness.” But, theft is always dangerous! In order to conceal his purpose, he invalidates his own remark, and my discovery, by excepting the wars of 1756, and 1793. The former hostilities depressed the value of cargoes from £.12,599,112 to £.11,708,515; and the late war from £.24,905,200, in 1792, to £.20,390,180, in 1793. Such are the fairness, and accuracy, which the public may expect from such writers. Mr. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur has, however, done me great justice, in p. 22 of *his Facts*: he inserts, in his text, my statement of the Post-office revenue, in 1764; and immediately subjoins, in his note, that as my statement, from the Post-office account, agrees with his, it must be correct!! From me, however, far be the thought of deducting from Mr. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur one iota, either of his profit, or his praise. May the laurel, which only grew stunted on my brow, rise soon into size upon his!!!

During the war of 1756, Dr. Brakenridge published degrading accounts of our population, which were transcribed into the foreign gazettes. His example was followed by Dr. Price, during the American war. Seeing such doctrines propagated, during two successive wars, by eminent men, I thought I saw, in that coincidence, a settled purpose to enfeeble the nation, at critical periods, in the eyes of foreigners. Dr. Price contended, with more confidence, than knowledge, that the population of England, and Wales, had declined, since the Revolution, till it scarcely amounted to 5,000,000 of souls. I maintained, that our numbers had greatly increased, in that period; and that the population of England, and Wales, in 1793, was 8,447,200 souls. The late enumeration has demonstrated, that there has been an increase, since the Revolution, of 2,830,000 people; and that the number of souls, in England, and Wales, during the year 1801, was more than 9,330,000. This enumeration, then, has buried the degrading doctrines of Dr. Price, in ever-during discredit.

The question, now, is not, which of the disputants were right; but, which of them, on both those occasions, maintained the *truth*. Experience has, finally, decided those two national questions. Demonstration will for ever denounce those ill-timed philosophers, who, as they delight, in dissenting from public opinion, take a pleasure, in frightening well-meaning people with groundless terrors.

I have presumed to think, that it would be agreeable to the public to see “The Natural and Political Observations” of Gregory King, Esq. which were first quoted, with praise, by Davenant, and have been often mentioned of late, without due acknowledgment. I have now annexed his curious work, from a fine copy in the *British Museum*. As the modest Gregory King is unknown to our biographers, I have prefixed to his *Observations* a few notices of his life. From me, he has amply merited this attention; as I have benefited from his labours. What Pope said of Roscommon may, with some variation, be fairly applied to that ingenious computer:—

To him moral arithmetick was known,  
And ev’ry statesman’s merit, but his own.

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AN  
E S T I M A T E  
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COMPARATIVE STRENGTH  
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*GREAT BRITAIN.*

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1801.

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STATISTICS

1875

MEMBER OF THE BOARD

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MEMBER OF THE BOARD

1875



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AN  
ESTIMATE  
OF THE  
COMPARATIVE STRENGTH  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN.

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CHAP. I.

*General Observations upon the Causes, physical and moral, which influence Population, in every Country.—The Populousness; Commerce, and Power, of England, prior to the Demise of Edward III.—The Number of People, 1377.—Reflections.*

OF the existing numbers of mankind, in successive ages of the world, various writers have given dissimilar accounts, because they did not always acknowledge the same facts, nor often adopt the same principles, in their most ingenious disquisitions.

The Lord Chief Justice Hale\* formerly, and Sir James Stuart †, and the Count de Buffon, lately

\* In his *Primitive Origination of Mankind Considered*.

† In his *Political Oeconomy*.

considered men, as urged, like other animals, by natural instincts; as directed, like them, by the same motives of propagation; and as subsisted afterwards, or destroyed, by similar means.

It is instinct, then, which, according to those illustrious authors, is the cause of procreation; but it is food, that keeps population full, and accumulates numbers. The force of the first principle, we behold in the multitudes, whether of the fish of the sea, the fowls of the air, or the beasts of the field, which are yearly produced: we perceive, however, the essential consequence of the last, from the vast numbers, that annually perish for want.

Experience indeed evinces, to what an immense extent domestic animals may be multiplied, by providing abundance of food. In the same manner, mankind have been found to exist, and increase, in every condition, and in every age, according to the standard of their subsistence, and to the measure of their comforts.

Hence Mr. Hume justly concludes\*, that if we would bring to some determination the question concerning the populousness of ancient, and modern, times, it will be requisite to compare the *domestic* and *political* situations of the two periods, in order to judge of the facts by their moral causes; because, if every thing else be equal, it seems reasonable to expect, that where there are the wisest

\* In his *Essays*, Vol. I. *Essay xi.* On the Populousness of Ancient Nations.

Institutions, and the most happiness, there will also be the most people.

Let us run over the history of England, then, with a view to those reasonings and to this truth.

Settled probably about a thousand years before the birth of Christ, England was found, on the arrival of Cæsar, to contain a *great multitude of people*. But this *observant author* transmitted notices, with regard to the modes of life, which prevailed among those, whom he came to conquer, whence we may judge of their numbers, with greater certainty, than from the accuracy of his language, or the weight of his authority. And he submits to our judgment sufficient *data*, when he informs us, that the inhabitants of the inland country subsisted by feeding of flocks, while their neighbours along the shores of the ocean were maintained by the more productive labours of agriculture.

Having already arrived, some of the tribes in the second, and others of them in the third stage of society, in its progress to refinement, the Britons were soon taught the arts of manufacture, and the pursuits of commerce, by their civilizing conquerors. A people who annually employed eight hundred vessels to export the surplus produce of their husbandry, must have exerted great industry at home, and enjoyed sufficient plenty from it. Roman Britain, of consequence, must have become extremely populous, when compared with former times, during that long period, from the arrival of the Romans, 55 years before the birth of Christ,

to the abdication of their government, in 446 of our æra\*.

From this event, commenced a war of six hundred years continuance, if we calculate the settlement of the Saxons, the ravages of the Danes, and the conquest of the Normans. A course of hostilities, thus lengthened beyond example, and wasteful above description, changed completely the political condition of the people, by involving them in ages of wretchedness. It was to those causes owing, that the inhabitants became divided, at the epoch of *The Conquest*, into five several classes; the barons, the free tenants, the free soccagers, together with the villains, and the slaves, who formed the great body of the people †.

A consideration of the foregoing events, it probably was, with the wretched condition of every order of men, which induced the Lord Chief Justice Hale, and Mr. Gregory King, to agree in asserting ‡, “that the people of England, at the arrival of the Normans, might be somewhat above *two million*.” And the notices of that most instructive record, the *Domesday Book*, seem to justify the conjectures of both, by exhibiting satisfactory proofs of a very scanty population, at

\* Mr. Whitaker's most excellent History of Manchester, vol. i. which gives the best account of the British and Roman-British period of our Annals.

† Id.

‡ Origination of Mankind; and Davenant's Works.



that memorable epoch, in the country, as well as in the towns\*.

The annals of England, from the epoch of the Conquest to the date of the Great Charter (from 1066 to 1215) are filled with revolutions in the government, and insurrections of the people; with domestic ravages, and foreign war; with frequent famines, and their attendant pestilence.

Doctor Campbel has enumerated † various circumstances to demonstrate the unhappiness of the nation, during those times, which were equally ferocious and unsettled; and, by necessary consequence, to show the constant decline of their numbers.

Few revolutions, said he, even when atchieved by the most wasteful conquerors, appear to have been attended with so sudden a revolution, both of property and of power, as that which William I. unhappily introduced into England. The constitution, from being limited, and free, became at once arbitrary and severe. While the ancient

\* In Mr. Whitaker's admirable History of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 345—354, there is a very curious table of the rates for most of the necessaries of life, both at home and abroad, in the seventh, eighth, tenth, and eleventh centuries; whereby it appears, that such necessaries were much dearer formerly than at present; and that most things were in those ages much dearer at home than abroad. It is apparent then, that though we are often imposed upon by the denominations of money, the great body of the people did not live so comfortably in those good old times.

† Political Survey, 2 vol. ch. iii.

nobility seemed to be annihilated, the Saxon people were assuredly reduced to villainage. And those revolts ensued successively, which necessarily arise, when a gallant people are despised, at the same time that they are oppressed. The Conqueror, urged partly by revenge, perhaps more by policy, was provoked, by the insurrection of the northern counties, to prescribe remedies as severe as they were barbarous. He so effectually depopulated the extensive country from *the Humber to the Tees*, that it lay for years uncultivated, whereby multitudes perished for want. The pleasures of *William* too were as destructive to the people as his anger. In forming the New Forest, he laid waste an extent of thirty miles in Hampshire, without regarding the cries of villagers, or the sacredness of churches. And his gratitude to his supporters, though attended with less violence, produced, in the end, consequences still more fatal, with regard to the depopulation of England, than had resulted either from his resentment, or his sport. He distributed the whole kingdom to about seven hundred of his principal officers, who afterwards divided among their followers the spoils of the vanquished, on such precarious tenures, as secured the submission of the lower orders, though not their happiness.

The Conqueror's measures, thus harshly executed, continued to influence all ranks of men, long after the terrors of his government had ceased; and while they neither secured the quiet, nor promoted

moted the plenty of the nation, his rigours probably added very few to its numbers.

The great charter of John made no alteration in public law, nor any innovation in private rights: and though it conferred additional security on the free, it gave little freedom to the slave. Yet, the barbarous licence both of kings and nobles being thenceforth somewhat restrained, government, says Mr. Hume\*, approached by degrees nearer to that end, for which it was instituted, the equal protection of every order in the state.

This general reasoning, however just, did not impose on the sagacity of Dr. Campbel, who minutely examined † every circumstance, in our subsequent annals, that tended either to retard, or promote, an effective population. He found no event in the long reign of Henry III. filled as it was with distraction, proceeding from weakness, and with civil war, the result of turbulence, which could have added one man to our numbers. Though historians have celebrated the following reigns of our Edwards, as the most glorious in our annals; yet he remarked, that, during a period, wherein there were scarcely ten years of peace, the eclat of victories, the splendour of triumphs, or the acquisition of distant territories, did not compensate the loss of inhabitants, who continually decreased, from the waste of foreign, and civil, wars,

\* In his History.

† In his Political Survey, 2 vol. ch. iii.

and from the debility of pestilential distempers, arising from a wretched husbandry, as much as from a noxious state of the atmosphere. It was a shrewd remark of Major Graunt\*, when he was reflecting over “*the sickliness, the healthfulness, and fruitfulness, of seasons,*” that “*the more sickly the years are, the less fruitful of children they also be †.*”

The first notice, which the Parliament seem to have taken of the paucity of inhabitants, may be seen in the *Statute of Labourers*, that was enacted in 1349. This law recites—“That whereas a great part of the people, and especially of workmen and servants, late died of the pestilence, many, seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve, unless they receive excessive wages, some being rather willing to beg in idleness, than by labour to get their living.” Considering therefore “the grievous incommodities which of the lack, especially of ploughmen and such labourers, may hereafter come,” Edward III. with the assistance of the *prelates*, the *nobles*, and the *learned men*, ordained a variety of regulations, which were unjust in their theory, and violent in their execution †. This edict of the King, and his council,

\* In his Observations on the Bills of Mortality, 1662.

† There were no fewer than one-and-twenty dearths and famines from 1069 to 1355. See a Collection of the most remarkable dearths and famines, published by Edward Howe, in 1631.

‡ These regulations may be seen in Cay’s Collection of Statutes, vol. i. p. 261—3; and sufficiently prove to what a deplorable



council, was enforced by the legislature in the subsequent year—"on the petition of the commonalty, that the said servants, having no regard to the said ordinance, but to their ease and singular covetise, do withdraw to serve great men and other, *unless they have wages and living to the double and treble of that they were wont to take the twentieth year of the king that now is.*"

Yet, after adjusting minutely the prices of labour, of natural products, and even of manufactures, the statute of the 23d Edward III. directed, "that the artificers should be sworn to use their crafts as they did in the twentieth year of the same king\*" (1346), under the penalty of imprisonment, at the discretion of the Justices. The Parliament busied themselves, year after year, in regulating labour, which had been defrauded of its

deplorable state of slavery the collective mass of the people was then reduced. "Every able-bodied person, under sixty years of age, not having sufficient to live on, being required, shall be bound to serve him that doth require him, or else shall be committed to gaol; till he finds security to serve. If a servant, or workman, depart from service before the time agreed upon, he shall be imprisoned. If any artificer take more wages than were wont to be paid, he shall be committed to gaol." The severity of these penalties was soon greatly increased by the 34th Edward III. which directs, "That if any labourer or servant flee to any town, the chief officer shall deliver him up: and if they depart to another county, they shall be burnt in the forehead with the letter F." Thus, says Anderson, they lived, till manufactures drove slavery away.

Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 204.

\* Chap. 1—7.

just reward, by considerable defalcations from the coin\*. During an administration less active, and vigorous, and respected, than Edward's, such regulations had produced tumult and revolt. Scarcely indeed was that great monarch laid in his grave, when the confirmation of the same statutes, by his feeble successor, gave rise to the memorable rebellion of Tyler and Straw, which was so destructive in its immediate effects, yet proved so beneficial in its ultimate consequences! The common people acquired implied liberty from insurrection, while the Parliament were enacting †, "*that forced manumissions should be considered as void.*" And such are the revolutions, which insensibly take place, during ages of darkness, before the eyes of chroniclers, who are carried away by the sound of words, without regarding the efficacy of things.

The declamatory recitals of such statutes ought generally to be regarded as slight proofs of the authenticity of facts, unless where they are supported, by collateral circumstances. From the reiterated debasement of the coin, which proceeded from the expensive wars of Edward III. we might be apt to infer, that the recited destruction of the

\* From the value of *the pound*, or twenty shillings in present money, as established by Edward I. in 1300, there were deducted by Edward III. in the 18th of his reign, 4*s.* 11*d.*  $\frac{3}{4}$ , and in the 20th of his reign 9*d.*  $\frac{3}{4}$  more; so that there had been taken no less than five shillings and nine-pence from the standard pound, as settled in 1300, of £:2. 17*s.* 5*d.*

Harris on Coins, part ii. ch. 1.

† By the 5th Richard II.

pestilence was merely a pretence to palliate motives of avarice, or to justify the rigours of oppression.

On the other hand, Doctor Mead assures us, that the greatest mortality, which has happened in later ages, was about the middle of the fourteenth century; when the plague that seized England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1349, is said to have dispeopled the earth of *more than half* of its inhabitants\*. The Commons petitioned, during the Parliament † of 1364, that, in consideration of the preceding pestilence, the King would allow persons, who held lands of him in chief, to let leases without a licence, as had been lately practised, *till the country were become more populous*. From the 23d of Edward I. when the cities and boroughs are said to have been first formally summoned to Parliament, to the demise of Edward IV. the sheriffs often returned, *That there were no cities or boroughs in their counties, whence representatives could be sent*. This form of expression Doctor Brady ‡ has very justly explained to mean, That the towns were so depopulated and poor, as to be unable to pay the accustomed expences of delegates. The truth of that representation, and of this commentary, seems to be confirmed by

\* Discourse concerning Pest. Contag. p. 24—5.

† Cott. Abt. of Records, p. 97.

‡ Of Boroughs, p. 125, &c.

a law of Henry VII. \*; which recites, That where, in some towns, two hundred persons lived by their lawful labours, now they are occupied by two or three herdsmen, and the residue fall into idleness. And, from the foregoing facts we may surely infer, that there must have been a great paucity of people in England, during those *good old times*, at least towards the conclusion of the celebrated reign of Edward III.

From incontrovertible evidence we can now establish the whole number of inhabitants, at that epoch, with sufficient exactness to answer all the practical purposes of the statesman, and even to satisfy all the scrupulous doubts of the sceptic. A poll-tax of four-pence, having been imposed by the Parliament of the 51st of Edward III. (1377) on every *lay* person, as well male as female, of *fourteen* years and upwards, real mendicants only excepted, there remains an official return of the persons who paid the tax, in each county, city, and town, which has been happily preserved †. And, from this

*subsidy-*

\* 4th Henry VII. ch. 19; which is published in the Appendix to Pickering's Statutes, vol. xxiii.

† This record, so instructive as to the state of England at the demise of Edward III. was laid before the Antiquary Society, in December 1784, by Mr. Topham of the Paper-Office; a gentleman, whose curious research, with regard to the jurisprudence and history of his country, as well as communicative disposition, merits the greatest praise. Mr. Topham observed, that the sum collected, in consequence of the

subsidy



*subsidy-roll* it appears, that the *lay* persons, who paid the before-mentioned poll-tax, amounted to 1,367,239.

When we have ascertained what proportion the persons paying bore to *the whole*, we shall be able to form a sufficient estimate of the total population. It appears from the table formed by Doctor Halley, according to the Breſlaw births and burials; from the Northampton Table; from the Norwich Table; and from the London table, conſtructed by Mr. Simpson; as theſe Tables are published by Doctor Price\*; That the persons at any time living *under* fourteen years of age are a good deal fewer than *one-third* of the co-exiſting lives. And the *lay* persons, who paid the tax in 1377, muſt conſequently have been a *good deal more* than *two-thirds* of the whole.

But, ſince there may have been omiſſions of the persons paying

fions of the persons paying	-	1,367,239
Add a half	- - -	683,619
		2,050,858

ſubſidy of 1377, being £.22,607. 2s. 8d. contained only 1,356,428 groats, which ought to have been the amount of thoſe who were fourteen years of age and upwards. But I have choſen to ſtate the number of persons, who are mentioned in the roll as having paid, in each county and town, amounting to 1,367,239, though the total miſtakingly added on the record is 1,376,442.

\* Obſerv. on Reverſ. Payments, vol. ii. p. 35—6, 39—40.

Add

Brought over	-	2,050,858
Add the number of beneficed clergy paying the tax	- - -	15,229
And the non-beneficed clergy	-	13,932
		<hr/>
		2,080,019
But Wales, not being included in this roll, is placed on a footing with Yorkshire*, at	- - -	196,560
Cheshire and Durham, having had their own receivers, do not appear on the roll; the first is ranked with Cornwall, at	- - -	51,411
The second with Northumberland, at		25,213
		<hr/>
The whole people of England and Wales	- - - -	2,353,203
		<hr/>

\* From Davenant's Table (in his Essay on Ways and Means, p. 76.) it appears, that Wales paid a much smaller sum to the poll-tax of the 1st of William and Mary, to the quarterly poll, and indeed to every other tax, and contained a much lower number of houses, according to the hearth-books of Lady-day 1690, than Yorkshire. It was giving a very large allowance to Wales, when this country was placed on an equality with Yorkshire, which paid, in 1377, for 131,040 lay persons. The population of Cheshire and Durham was settled upon similar principles; and is equally stated in the text at a medium rather too high. So that, as far as we can credit this authentic record, in respect to the whole number of lay persons upwards of fourteen years of age, we must believe, that this kingdom contained at the demise of Edward III. about TWO MILLIONS, three hundred and fifty-three thousand souls; making a reasonable allowance for the usual omissions of taxable persons.

We can now build upon a rock; having before us proofs, which are almost equal in certainty to actual enumerations. Yet, what a picture of public misrule, and private misery, does the foregoing statement display, during an unhappy period of three hundred years! We here behold the powerful operation of those causes of depopulation, which Doctor Campbel collected, in order to support his hypothesis of a decreasing population, in *feudal times*. But, were we to admit, that one-half of the people had been carried off by the desolating plague of 1349, as Doctor Mead supposes; or even one-third, as Mr. Hume represents with greater probability; we should find abundant reason to admire the solidity of Lord Hale's argument, in favour of a progressive population; because this circumstance would alone evince, that there had been, in that long effluxion of time, a considerable increase of numbers, during various years of healthiness, and in different ages of tranquillity.

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## C H A P. II.

*The Population in the principal Towns of England, during 1377. — Reflections. — The Populousness, Commerce, Policy, and Power of England—from that Epoch to the Accession of Elizabeth.*

THE truth of Lord Hale's conclusion, with regard to a progressive increase of people, would appear still more evident, if we were to form a comparison between the notices of Domesday-book and the statements of the Subsidy-roll before-mentioned, which would show a much inferior populousness, soon after *the Conquest*; in 1077, than at the demise of Edward, in 1377. We shall certainly find additional proofs, and perhaps some amusement, from taking a view of the population of our principal towns, as they were found, and are represented by the tax-gatherers, in 1377.

London paid for	-	23,314	lay persons; and
contained consequently about	-	34,971	souls.
York for	-	7,248	- 10,872
Bristol for	-	6,345	- 9,517
Plymouth for	-	4,837	- 7,255
Coventry for	-	4,817	- 7,225
			Norwich



Norwich* for	-	3,952	-	5,928
Lincoln for	-	3,412	-	5,118
Sarum (Wilts) for	-	3,226	-	4,839
Lynn for	-	3,127	-	4,690
Colchester for	-	2,955	-	4,432
Beverley for	-	2,663	-	3,994
Newcastle on Tyne for	-	2,647	-	3,970
Canterbury for	-	2,574	-	3,861
St. Edmondsbury for	-	2,442	-	3,663
Oxford for	-	2,357	-	3,535
Glocester for	-	2,239	-	3,358
Leicester for	-	2,101	-	3,151
Salop for	-	2,082	-	3,123

The foregoing are the only towns, which, in 1377, paid the poll-tax of a groat for more than two thousand lay persons, of fourteen years of age and upwards. And their inconsiderableness exhibits a marvellous depopulation in the country, and a lamentable want of manufactures, and of commerce, every where, in England. The state of Scotland was still more wretched with regard to all these. Domesday Book represents our cities to have been little superior to villages, at the Conquest †, and

\* Dr. Price talked of Norwich having been a great city *formerly*. The Domesday Book shews sufficiently the diminutiveness of our towns in 1077: and Mr. Topham's Subsidy Roll puts an end to conjecture with regard to the populousness of any of them anterior to 1377.

† See Brady on Boroughs.

much more inconsiderable than they certainly were, at the demise of Edward III.

The informations of contemporary writers would, nevertheless, lead us to consider those early reigns as times of overflowing populousness. Amidst all that depopulation, Edward III. is said to have suddenly collected, in 1360, a hundred thousand men, whom he transported in eleven hundred vessels to France\*. It did not, however, escape the sagacity of Mr. Hume, when he reflected on the high pay of the soldiers, that the numerous armies, which are mentioned by the historians of those days, consisted chiefly of raggamuffins, who followed the camp for plunder. In 1382, the rebels, says Daniel †, suddenly marched towards London, under Wat. Tyler, and Jack Straw, and mustered on Blackheath sixty thousand strong, or, as others say, an hundred thousand. In 1415, Henry V. invaded France with a fleet of sixteen hundred sail ‡, and fifty thousand combatants, who not long after won the glorious battle of Azincourt. Our history is filled with such instances of vast armies, which had been hastily levied for temporary enterprizes: yet, we ought not thence to infer, that the country was overstocked with inhabitants. This truth is extremely apparent from the statute of the 9th Henry V. which recites, “That whereas, at the

\* Ander. Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 191.

† History of Richard, in Kennet, p. 245.

‡ And. Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 245.

“ making of the act of the 14th of Edward III.  
 “ (1340) there were sufficient of proper men  
 “ in each county to execute every office ; but that,  
 “ owing to pestilence and wars, there are not now  
 “ (1421) a sufficiency of responsible persons to  
 “ act as sheriffs, coroners, and escheators.” The  
 laurels, which were gained by Henry V. are well  
 known, says the learned observer on the ancient  
 statutes ; but he hath left us, in the preamble of  
 one of his statutes, most irrefragable proof, that  
 they were not obtained, but at the dearest price,  
*the depopulation of the country.*

The facility, with which great bodies of men  
 were collected, in those early ages, exhibits, then,  
 for our instruction, a picture of manners, idle and  
 licentious ; and shews only, for our comfort, that  
 the most numerous classes of mankind existed in a  
 condition, which is not to be envied by those, who,  
 in better times, enjoy either health, or ease.

The period from the accession of Henry IV. in  
 1399, to the proclamation of Henry VII. in 1485,  
 may be regarded as the most disastrous in our latter  
 annals ; because, a civil war, remarkable for the  
 inveteracy of the leaders, and for the waste of the  
 people, began with the one event, and ended with  
 the other. Doctor Campbel has collected the *va-  
 rious circumstances of depopulation* ; tending to prove,  
 that the number of inhabitants, which, before the  
 bloody contests between the Lancastrians and  
 Yorkists began, had been already much lessened,  
 was in the end greatly reduced, by a series of the

most destructive calamities. The monuments of more settled times were demolished; the country was laid waste; cities sunk into towns, while towns dwindled into villages: and universal desolation is said to have ensued. Nor, was the condition of the country much meliorated, by the re-establishment of domestic quiet. If, indeed, we could implicitly credit the recitals of the laws of Henry VII. we should find sufficient evidence, “That great desolations daily do increase, by pulling down and wilful waste of houses and towns, and by laying to pasture lands which customably have been used in tillage.”

An important change had certainly taken place mean while, in the condition of the great body of the people, which fortunately promoted their happiness, and which consequently proved favourable to the propagation of the species.

There existed in England, at the Conquest, no *free hands*, or freemen, who worked for wages; since the scanty labour of times, warlike and unindustrious, was wholly performed by villains, or by slaves. The latter, who composed a very numerous class, equally formed an object of foreign trade, for ages after the arrival of the Conqueror, who only prohibited the sale of them to infidels\*. But *the slaves* had happily departed from the land before the reign of Henry III. This we may infer from the law declaring, in 1225, “*How men*

\* Dr. Henry’s History of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 479—80.



“*of all sorts shall be amerced\**”: and it only mentions villains, freemen, (though probably not in the modern sense), merchants, barons, earls, and men of the church. Another order of men is alluded to rather than mentioned, during the same session; whom we shall find, in after times, rising to great importance, from their numbers and opulence. And a woollen manufacture, having already increased to that stage of it when frauds begin, was regulated by the act †, which required, “*There shall be but one measure throughout the realm.*”

Yet, this manufacture continued inconsiderable, during the warlike reign of Edward I. and the turbulent administration of his immediate successor, if we may judge from the vast exportations of wool.

The year 1331 marks the first arrival of Walloon manufacturers, when Edward III. wisely determined to invite foreigners into England ‡, to instruct his subjects in the useful arts. As early as the Parliament of 1337, it was enacted, That no wool should be exported; that no one should wear any but English cloth; that no clothes made beyond seas should be imported; that foreign clothworkers might come into the king's dominions, and should have such franchises as might

\* 9 Henry III. ch. 14.

† 9 Henry III. ch. 25.

‡ And. Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 162.

suffice them. This may be considered as one of the first statutes, which gave commercial efficacy to the mercantile system.

Before this time, says De Wit\*, when the tumults of the manufacturers in Flanders obliged them to seek shelter in other countries, the English were little more than shepherds and wool-sellers. From this epoch, manufactures became often the objects of legislation, and the spirit of industry will be found to have promoted greatly the state of population, and to have augmented considerably the opulence of all ranks of men.

The statutes of labourers of 1349 and 1350 demonstrate, that a considerable change had taken place in the condition and pursuits of the most numerous classes. During several reigns after the Conquest, men laboured, because they were slaves. For some years before these regulations of the price of work, men were engaged to labour, from a sense of their own freedom, and of their own wants. It was the statutes of labourers †, which, adding the compulsion of law to the calls of necessity, created oppression for ages, while they ought to have given relief. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the time when villainage ceased in Eng-

\* Interest of Holland.

† See the 12th Richard II. ch. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9. By these, no artificer, labourer, servant, or victualler, shall depart from one hundred to another, without licence under the kings seal. These laws, says Anderson, are sufficient proofs of the slavish condition of the common servants in those times (1388).

land, or even to trace its decline. The Edwards, during the pressure of their foreign conquests, certainly manumitted many of their villains for money. Owing to the previous fewness of inhabitants, the numerous armies, which for almost a century desolated the nation amidst our civil wars, must have been necessarily composed of the lower ranks: and we may reasonably suppose, that the men, who had been brought from the drudgeries of slavery to contend as soldiers, for the honour of nobles and the rights of kings, would not readily relinquish the honourable sword for the meaner ploughshare. The church, even in the darkest ages, laudably remonstrated against the unchristian practice of holding fellow-men in bondage. The courts of justice did not willingly enforce the master's claim to the servitude of his villains, till, in the progress of knowledge, interest discovered, that the purchased labour of freemen was more productive than the listless and ignoble toil of slaves. Owing to those causes, there were certainly few villains in England at the accession of Henry VII.\*; and the great body of the people, having thus gained greater freedom, and with it greater comfort, henceforth acquired the nume-

\* The statute of 23 Henry VI. chap. 12. mentions only servants, artificers, workmen, and labourers; and there is a distinction made between husbandry servants and domestic servants. Yet villains are spoken of, even in our courts of justice, though seldom, as late as the time of James I.

rous blessings, which every where result from an orderly administration of established government.

During almost a century, before the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, the manufacturers of wool, with their attendant artificers, had fixed the seats of their industry in every county in England. The principle of the act of navigation had been introduced into our legislation as early as 1381, by the law declaring\*, “That none of the king’s subjects shall carry forth, or bring in merchandizes, but only in ships of the king’s allegiance.” The fisheries too had been encouraged †. Agriculture had been moreover promoted, by the law which declared ‡, “That all the king’s subjects may carry corn out of the realm when they will.” And *guilds, fraternities, and other companies*, having soon after their creation imposed monopolizing restraints, were corrected by a law of Henry VI. §; though our legislators were not very steady, during an unenlightened age, in the application of so wise a policy.

In reading the laws of Edward IV. we think ourselves in modern times, when the spirit of the mercantile system was in its full vigour, before it had been so perspicuously explained and so ably

\* 5 Richard II. ch. 3.—6 Richard, ch. 8.

† By 6 Richard II. ch. 11, 12.

‡ 17 Richard II. ch. 7.

§ 15 Hen. VI. ch. 6.



exploded\*. It is however in the laws † of Richard III. that we see more clearly the commercial state of England, during the long period, wherein the English people were unhappily too much engaged in *king-making*. In *those* inauspicious times was the trade of England chiefly carried on by Italians, at least by merchants from the shores of the Mediterranean. The manufacturers were composed mostly of Flemings, who, under the encouragement of Edward III. had fled from the distractions of the Netherlands, for repose and employment in England. And, the preamble of one of Richard's laws ‡, will furnish a convincing proof that their numbers had given great discontent to the English people: "Moreover, a great number  
 " of artificers and other strangers, not born under  
 " the king's obedience, do daily resort to London,  
 " and to other cities, boroughs, and towns, and  
 " much more than they were wont to do in times  
 " past, and inhabit by themselves in this realm,  
 " with their wives, children, and household; and  
 " will not take upon them any laborious occupa-  
 " tion, as going to plough and cart, and other like  
 " business, but use the making of cloth, and other  
 " handicrafts and easy occupations; and bring from

\* By Dr. Smith's Essay on the Wealth of Nations.

† 1 Richard III. ch. 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13.

‡ 1 Richard III. ch. 9. But Henry VII. upon the supplication of the Italian merchants, repealed the greater part of this law, which imposed restraints on *aliens*; yet retained the forfeitures incurred, in the true spirit of his avaricious government.

“ the parts beyond the sea great substance of wares  
 “ and merchandizes to fairs and markets, and other  
 “ places, at their pleasure, to the impoverishment  
 “ of the king’s subjects; and will only take into  
 “ their service people born in their own countries;  
 “ whereby the king’s subjects, for lack of occupa-  
 “ tion, fall into idleness and vicious living, to the  
 “ great perturbation of the realm.”—All this was  
 directed otherwise by Henry VII. though probably  
 without much success, “ upon the petition made of  
 “ the Commons of England.” In the present  
 times, it is perhaps the wisest policy, *neither to en-  
 courage foreigners to come, nor to drive them away.*

When manufacturers have been thoroughly set-  
 tled, nothing more is wanting to promote the  
 wealth and populousness of a country from their  
 labour, than the protection of their property and  
 freedom; by the impartial administration of jus-  
 tice; while their frauds are repressed, and their  
 combinations prevented, by doing equal right to  
 every order in the state.

The policy of Henry VII. has been praised by  
 historians fully equal to its worth. Anderson re-  
 lates\*, that this prince, “ finding the woollen ma-  
 “ nufactures declining, drew over some of the best  
 “ Netherland clothmakers, as Edward III. had  
 “ done 150 years before.” This is probably said  
 without authority; since the law of the preceding  
 reign, concurring with the temper of the times, did

\* Chron. Acc. of Com. v. i. p. 306.

not permit the easy execution of so unpopular a measure. Henry VII. like his two immediate predecessors, turned the attention of the Parliament to agriculture and manufacture, to commerce and navigation, because he found the current of the national spirit already running toward all these salutary objects: hence, says Lord Bacon\*, it was no hard matter to dispose and affect the Parliament in this business. And the legislature enacted a variety of laws, which that illustrious historian explains, with his usual perspicuity †; all tending, says he, in their wise policy, *towards the population apparently, and the military forces of the realm certainly.*

That monarch's measures for breaking the oppressive power of the nobles; for facilitating the alienation of lands; *for keeping within reasonable bounds the bye-laws of corporations*; and, above all, for suppressing the numerous bodies of men, who were then retained in the service of the great; all these deserve the highest commendation, because they were attended with effects, as lasting as they were efficacious.

It may be however doubted, whether his piddling husbandry of petty farms, which has been ostentatiously praised by Doctor Price, can produce a sufficiency of food for a manufacturing country, or even prevent the too frequent returns

\* History of Henry VII.

† History in Kennet, v. i. p. 504—7.

of famine. Agriculture must be practised as a trade, before it can supply superabundance. Certain it is \*, that till the reign of Henry VIII. we had in England no carrots, turnips, cabbages, nor fallads; and few of the fruits, which at present ornament our gardens, and exhilarate our tables.

The spirit of improvement, however, which had taken deep root, before the accession of Henry VIII. continued to send forth vigorous shoots, during his reign. This we might infer from the frequent proclamations against the practice of inclosing, which was said to create *a decay of husbandry*. On the other hand, a statute was enacted to enforce the sowing of flax-seed and hemp. The nation is represented *to have been over-run by foreign manufacturers*, whose superior diligence and œconomy occasioned popular tumults. While the kingdom was gradually filling with people, it was the yearly practice to grant money to repair towns, which were supposed to be falling into ruins. Yet, the numerous laws, that were enacted by the Parliaments of Henry VIII. for the paving of streets, in various cities and villages, prove how much industry had gained ground of idleness; how much opulence began to prevail over penury; and how far a desire of comfort had succeeded to the labours of sloth. Thus much might indeed be discovered, from the numerous laws, which were, during this period, passed, for giving a monopoly of

\* And. Chron. Com. v. i. p. 338.



manufacture to different towns; and which prove, that a great activity prevailed, by the frequent desire of selfish enjoyment, contrary to the real interest of the tradefinen themselves.

The statute, however, which limited the interest of money to 10 *per cent.* demonstrates, that much *ready money* had not yet been brought into the coffers of lenders; while a great number of borrowers desired to augment their wealth, by employing the money of others in the operations of trade. The kings of England, both before and after this epoch, borrowed large sums in Genoa, and the Netherlands. A parliamentary debate of the year 1523 exhibits a lively picture of the opinions, that were at this time entertained, as to *circulation*, which, in modern times, has so great an effect on the strength of nations. A supply of eight hundred thousand pounds being asked by Cardinal Wolfey for the French war, Sir Thomas More, the Speaker of the Commons, endeavoured to convince *the House*, *That it was not much, on this occasion, to pay four shillings in the pound.* But to this the Commons objected, That though true it was some persons were well monied, yet, in general, the fifth part of mens' goods was not in plate or money, but in stock or cattle; and that to pay away all their coin would alter the whole intercourse of things, and there would be a stop in all traffick; and consequently the shipping of the kingdom would decay. To this grave objection, it was however gravely answered, That the  
money

money ought not to be accounted as lost, or taken away, but only as transferred into other hands of their kindred or nation; so that no more was about to be done than we see ordinarily in markets, where, though the money change masters, yet every one is accommodated. Nor need you fear this scarceness of money; the intercourse of things being so established throughout the world, *that there is a perpetual circulation of all that can be necessary to mankind.* Thus your commodities will ever find out money; while our own merchants will be as glad of your corn and cattle, as you can be of any thing they can bring you\*.

Such is the argument of Sir Thomas More; who has thus left a proof to posterity of how much he knew, with regard to modern œconomy, without the aid of modern experience. No one at present can more clearly explain the marvellous accommodation of money, when quickly passed from hand to hand, or the great facility in raising public supplies, when every one can easily convert his property, either fixed or moveable, into the metals, which are the commodious measure of all things. And this is *circulation*, of which we shall hear so much in later times; and which creates so momentous a strength, when it exists in full vigour; yet leaves, when it disappears, so great a debility.

† Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. in Kennet, v. ii. p. 55.

But the suppression of monasteries, and the reformation of religion, are the measures of Henry VIII.'s reign, which were attended with consequences the most happy and the most lasting. Fifty thousand persons are said to have been maintained in the convents of England and Wales, who were thus forced into the active employments of life. And a hundred and fifty thousand persons are equally supposed to have been restrained from marriage\*, which can alone produce effective population.

While the numbers of our people were thus augmented from various sources, Edward VI. is said to have brought over, in 1549, *many thousands* of foreign manufacturers, who greatly improved our own fabricks of various kinds. Yet, they were not invited into a country, where the lower orders were even then very free, or very happy. The act † *for the punishment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor*, recites, "Forasmuch as idleness  
" and vagabondrie is the mother of all thefts and  
" other mischiefs, and the multitude of people  
" given thereto has been always here, within this  
" kingdom, very great, and more in number than  
" in other regions, to the great impoverishment of  
" the realm." This law therefore enacted, That if any person shall bring before two justices any runagate servant, or any other which liveth idly

\* And. Chron. Com. v. i. p. 368.

† 1 Edward VI. ch. 3.

and loiteringly by the space of three days; the same justices shall cause the said idle and loitering servant or vagabond to be marked on the breast with the mark of V by a hot iron, and shall adjudge him to be a *slave* to the person who brought him, and who may cause him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwise. The unenlightened makers of this disgraceful act of legislation became soon so ashamed, as to repeal the law, which they ought to have never made. And were it not, that it shews the condition of the country, and the modes of thinking of the higher orders, in 1547, it might, without much loss, be expunged from the statute book.

But the legislators of this reign were more happy in some other of their laws. They restored the statute of treasons of Edward III.; they encouraged the fisheries to Iceland, to Newfoundland, and to Ireland. They inflicted penalties on the sellers of victuals, who were not content with reasonable profit, and on artificers and labourers, conspiring the time and manner of their work. As "*great inconveniencies, not meet to be rehearsed, had followed of compelled chastity,*" all positive laws against the marriage of priests were repealed. Manufactures were encouraged, partly by procuring the materials at the cheapest rate, but still more by preventing frauds. And agriculture was promoted by means of inclosing, which is said to have given rise to Ket's rebellion in 1549. This event alone sufficiently proves, that the people had



had considerably increased, but had not yet applied steadily to labour.

While the absurd practice continued, during the reign of Mary, of promoting manufactures by monopoly, instead of competition, one law alone appears to have been attended with effects, continual and salutary. It is the act\* “for the mending of highways;” being now, says the law, “both very noisome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to passengers and carriages.” The first effort of English legislation, on a subject so much connected with the prosperity of every people, is the act of Edward I. for enlarging the breadth of highways from one market town to another. This law, which was enacted in 1285, was however intended rather to prevent robbery, than to promote facility in travelling. The roads of particular districts were amended by several laws of Henry VIII. But this act of Philip and Mary is the first general law, which obliged every parish, by four days labour of its people, to repair its own roads. The reign of Charles II. merits the praise of having first established turnpikes; whereby those, who enjoy the benefits of easy conveyance, contribute the necessary expence. Yet, when Cowley retired from the *hum of men* to Chertsey, in 1665, he thence invited Sprat to enjoy the pleasures of St. Anne’s Hill, by telling him, *that he might sleep the first night at Hampton*

\* 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, ch. 8.

*Town*: A poet of the present day would invite his friend at London, by saying, *that he might easily step into the coach, and come down to breakfast*. Even in the subsequent age, when Sir Francis Wronghead was chosen into Parliament, we hear of much preparation for his journey to town, and of many accidents by the way, owing to the badness of the roads: A parliament-man, at present, sends to the next stage for post-horses, when there is a call of the house, and arrives in Westminster from any distance, at any hour.

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## C H A P. III.

*The State of England at the Accession of Elizabeth.— Her Laws.—The Numbers of People, during her Reign.—Her Strength.—The Policy and Power of the two subsequent Reigns.—The State of England at the Restoration.—The Number of People at the Revolution.—Reflections.*

**B**EFORE the commencement of the celebrated reign of Elizabeth, a considerable change had doubtless taken place in our policy, and in the numbers of our people. Agriculture, manufactures, fisheries, commerce, distant voyages, had all been begun, and made some progress, from the spirit that had already been incited. Yet, so little opulence had been hitherto accumulated by the people of England, that she was, on her accession, obliged to borrow several very small sums of money in Flanders, which had grown rich by its industry. From that epoch, however, England prospered greatly during the domestic tranquillity of a steady government, through half a century, as well as afterwards, from the example of œconomy and prudence, of activity and vigour, which Elizabeth, on all occasions, set before her subjects.

The act of Elizabeth \* containing orders for

\* 5 Eliz. ch. 4.

*artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices*, merits consideration; because we may learn from it the state of the country. *Villains*, we see, from this enumeration, had ceased, before 1562, to be objects of legislation. And we may perceive from the recital, “That the wages and allowances, rated in former statutes, are in divers places too small, and *not answerable to this time*, respecting *the advancement of all things*, belonging to the said servants and labourers,”—a favourable change had taken place in the fortunes of this numerous class. This law, as far as it requires apprenticeships, ought to be repealed; because its tendency is to abridge the liberty of the subject, and to prevent competition among workmen.

The same observation may be applied to the act “against the erecting of cottages\*.” If we may credit the assertion of the legislature, “great multitudes of cottages were daily more and more increasing, in many parts of this realm.” This statement evinces an augmentation of people: yet, the execution of such regulations, as this law contains, by no means promotes the useful race of husbandry servants.

The principle of the poor laws, which may be said to have originated in this reign, as far as it necessarily confines the labourer to the place of his birth, is at once destructive of freedom, and of the true interests of a manufacturing community, that

\* 13 Eliz. ch. 7.



can alone be effectually promoted by competition ; which hinders the rise of wages among workmen, and promotes at once the goodness and cheapness of the manufacture.

A few salutary laws were doubtless made during the reign of Elizabeth. But her legislation will be found not to merit generally much praise. Her acts for encouraging manufactures by monopoly ; for promoting trade by prohibition ; and for aiding husbandry, by preventing the export of corn, alone justify this remark. Her regulations, for punishing the frauds, which arise commonly in manufactures when they are encouraged by monopoly, merit commendation.

Having thus shewn the commencement of an increasing population, amidst famines and war, and traced a considerable progress, during ages of healthfulness and quiet, it is now time to ascertain the precise numbers, which probably existed in England towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

From the documents which still remain in the *Museum*, it is certainly known, that very accurate accounts were often taken of the people, by the intelligent ministers of that great princess. Harrison, who has transmitted an elaborate description of England, gives us the result of the musters of 1575, when the number of fighting men was found to be — — — 1,172,674 : Adding withal, that it was believed a full third had been omitted. Notwithstanding the greatness

of this number, says Mr. Hume, the same author complains much of the decay of populousness; a vulgar complaint, in all ages, and places\*. Sir Walter Raleigh however asserts, that there was a general review, in 1583, of all the men in England, capable of bearing arms, who were found to amount to

	—	—	1,172,000
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Here then are two credible evidences to an important fact: That, in 1575, or 1583, the fighting men of England, according to enumerations, amounted to

	—	—	1,172,000
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Which, if multiplied by 4, would prove the men, women, and children to have been

	—	—	4,688,000
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If by 5, would prove them to have been

	—	—	5,860,000
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\* Hist. vol. v. p. 481.—vi. p. 179. By endeavouring to collect every thing that could throw light on the population of Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Hume has bewildered himself and his reader. Peck has preserved a paper, which, by proving that there were masters in 1575, confirms Harrison's account. [Deid. Curiosa, v. i. p. 74.] It is a known fact, that there was an enumeration of the mariners, in 1582, which corresponds with Raleigh's account. [Campbel's Pol. Survey, v. i. p. 161.] That there were several surveys, then, is a fact incontrovertible; as appears indeed from the Harl. MSS. in Brit. Mus. Nos. 412 and 6,839. The Privy Council having required the Bishops, in July 1563, to certify the number of *families* in their several dioceses, were informed minutely of the particulars of each. Some of the Bishops returns may be seen in MSS. Harl. No. 595. Brit. Mus. From the Bishops certificates, as well as from the 31 Eliz. ch. 7. it appears, that the words *families* and *households* were then used synonymously.

Without

Without comparing minutely the numbers, which we have already found, in 1377, with the people, who thus plainly existed in 1577, it is apparent, that there had been a vast increase in the intermediate two hundred years. Such then were the numbers of the fighting men, and of the inhabitants of England, during the reign of Elizabeth: and such was the power, while her revenue was inconsiderable, wherewith that illustrious Queen defended the independence of the nation, and spread wide its renown\*.

But, it is the ardour, with which a people are inspired, more than their numbers, that constitutes their real force. It was the enmity wherewith *the armada* had inspired England against Spain, which prompted the English people, rather than the

\* The particular number of the *communicants* and *recufants*, in each diocese and parish of England, was certified to the Privy Council, by the Bishops, in 1603.—MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. No. 280.

And the number of communicants was	-	2,057,033
Of recufants	- - - -	8,465

In all	-	2,065,498
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By the 33d Eliz. chap. 1. all persons upwards of sixteen years of age were required to go to church, under the penalty of twenty pounds. If the 2,065,498 contained all the persons, both male and female, who were thus required to frequent the church, this number would correspond very well with the fighting men lately stated; and shew the people of England and Wales to have been between four and five millions, during Elizabeth's reign, though approaching nearer to the last number than the first.

English court, to aid the bastard Don Antonio to conquer Portugal: and *twenty thousand* volunteers engaged in this romantic enterprize, under those famous leaders, Norris, and Drake.—An effort, which shewed the manners of the age more than its populoufness, ended in difappointment, as might have been forefeen, if enthufiasm and reafon were not always at variance. An alarm being given of an invafion by the Spaniards, in 1599, the Queen equipped a fleet, and levied an army, in a fortnight, to oppofe them. Nothing, we are told, gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this fudden armament. Yet, it is not too much to affert, that Lancashire alone, confidering its numerous manufactories, and extenfive commerce, is now able to make a more fteady exertion\*, amidft modern warfare, than the whole kingdom in the time of Elizabeth.

The

\* The traders of Liverpool alone fitted out, at the commencement of the late war with France, between the 26th of Auguft 1778 and the 17th of April 1779, a hundred and twenty privateers, armed each with ten to thirty guns, but moftly with fourteen to twenty. From an accurate lift, containing the name and appointment of each, it appears, that thefe privateers meafured 30,787 tons, carrying 1,986 guns, and 8,754 men. The fleet fent againft the armada, in 1588, meafured 31,985 tons, and was navigated by 15,272 feamen. And, from the efforts of a fingle town we may infer, that the private fhips of war formed a greater force, during the war of the Colonies, than the nation, with all its unanimity and zeal, was able to equip under the potent government of Elizabeth. There was an enumeration, in 1581, of the fhipping and failors



The accession of James I. was an event auspicious to the prosperity and the populousness of Great Britain. The tranquillity of the Northern counties of England, which it had been the object of so many of Elizabeth's laws to settle, was at once restored: and the two-and-twenty years of uninterrupted peace, during his reign, must have produced the most salutary effect on the industry of the people, while the neighbouring nations were engaged in warfare, though his peaceableness has cast an unmerited ridicule on the King.

The various laws, which were passed by this monarch, for suppressing the frauds of manufacturers, evince at once, that they had increased in considerable numbers, and must have continued to increase. The acts for reformation of ale-houses, and repressing of drunkenness, as they plainly proceeded from the puritanism of the times, must have promoted sobriety of manners, and attention to business. The act for the relief and regulation of persons, who were infected with the plague, must have had its effect, in preventing the frequent return of this destructive evil. Domestic industry was doubtless promoted by the act against monopolies: and foreign commerce was assuredly extended by the law, enabling all persons to trade with Spain, Portugal, and France. But, above

failors of England, which amounted to 72,450 tons, and 14,295 mariners. To this statement, Doctor Campbel adds, That the seamen of the ships registered in the port of London, in 1732, were 21,797. [Pol. Survey, vol. i. p. 161.]

all,

all, the agricultural interests of the nation were ensured by the act for confirming the possession of copyholders; and still more, by the law for the general quiet of the subject, against all pretences of dormant claims on the lands, which had descended from remote ancestors to the then possessors. Of this salutary law the principle was adopted, and its efficacy enforced, by a legislative act of the present reign.

A comparison of the laws, which were enacted by the parliaments of Elizabeth, and of James, would leave a decided preference to the parliamentary leaders of the last period, both in wisdom, and in patriotism. The private acts of parliament, in Elizabeth's time, were made chiefly to *restore the blood* of those, who had been attainted by her predecessors: the private acts of James were almost all made for *naturalizing foreigners*. One of the last parliamentary grants of this reign was £. 18,000 for the reparation of decaying cities and towns, though it is not now easy to tell how the money was actually applied.

Elizabeth had begun the practice of giving bounties to the builders of such ships as carried *one hundred* tons. James I. merits the praise of giving large sums for the encouragement of this most important manufacture. And while Charles I. patronized every ornamental art, he gave from a very scanty revenue a bounty of five shillings the ton for every vessel of the burthen of *two hundred* tons. These notices enable us to trace the  
size

size of our merchant-ships through a very active century of years. The ministers of Elizabeth had considered a vessel of one hundred tons as sufficient for the purposes of an inconsiderable commerce: the advisers of Charles I. were not satisfied with so small a size. It was to this wise policy, that the trading ships of England were employed, ere long, in protecting her rights, and even in extending her glory.

The act which, in 1623, reduced the interest of money to eight *per cent.* from ten, shews sufficiently, even against the preamble of it, that complains of decline, how much the nation had prospered, and was then advancing to a higher state of improvement. Such laws can never be safely enacted till all parties, the lenders as well as the borrowers, are properly prepared to receive them. The cheerfulness of honest Stowe led him to see, and to represent, the state of England, during the reign of James, as it really was. He says, as Camden had said before him in 1580, that it would in time be incredible, were there not due mention made of it, what great increase there is, within these few years, of commerce and wealth throughout the kingdom; of the great building of royal and mercantile ships; of the re-peopling of cities, towns, and villages; beside the sudden augmentation of fair and costly buildings. The great measure of the reign of King James, which was productive of effects, lasting and unhappy, was the settlement of colonies beyond the Atlantic.

Lord

Lord Clarendon exhibits a picture equally flattering, of the condition of England, during the peaceful years of Charles I. And the representation of this great historian is altogether consistent with probability, and experience. The vigorous spirit, which Elizabeth had bequeathed to her people, continued to operate, long after she had ceased to delight them by her presence, or to protect them by her wisdom. The laws of former legislators produced successively their tardy effects. And it ought to be remembered, that neither disputes among the great, parliamentary altercations, nor even civil contests, till they proceed the length of tumult, and bloodshed, ever produce any bad consequences to the industry, or comfort, of the governed.

The civil wars, which began in 1640, unhappy as they were while they continued, both to king and people, produced in the end the most salutary influences, by bringing the higher and lower ranks closer together, and by continuing in all a vigour of design, and activity of practice, that in prior ages had no example.

One of the first consequences of real hostilities was the establishment of taxes, to which the people had seldom contributed, and which produced, before the conclusion of tedious warfare, the enormous sum of £.95,512,095\*. The gallant supporters  
of

\* Stevens's Hist. of Taxes, p. 296. But Stevens includes the sales of confiscated lands, compositions for estates, and such other more oppressive modes of raising money. There were



of Charles I. gave the sovereign, whom they loved, amidst his distresses, large sums of money, while confiscations left them any thing to give. Here, then, were the mines of Potosi opened in England. The opulence, which industry had been collecting for ages, was now brought into action, by the arts of the tax-gatherer: and the country-gentlemen, who had long complained of a scarcity of money, contributed greatly, by unlocking their coffers, to remove the evil, that they had themselves created by hoarding.

One of the first effects of civil commotion was the placing of private money in the shops of goldsmiths, for its better security, and for the advantage of the interest, which, at the commencement of banking, was allowed the proprietors. By facilitating the ready transfer of property, and the easy payment of private debts, as well as public imposts, *banking* may be regarded as the fruitful mother of *circulation*. The collecting of taxes, and the subsequent expenditure, raised ere long the price of all things. Owing to those causes chiefly, the legal interest of money was reduced, in 1651, to six *per cent*. And the reduction of interest is at once a proof of previous acquisition, and a means of future prosperity:

*The Restoration* of Charles II. induced the people to transfer the energy, which they had exerted

were collected, by *excises* only, £.10,200,000; and by tonnage and poundage £.5,700,000.

\*

during

during twenty years hostilities, to the various operations of peace. The several manufactories, and new productions of husbandry, that were introduced from foreign countries, before the *Revolution*, not only formed a new epoch, but evince a vigorous application to the useful arts, in the intermediate period. The common highways were enlarged and repaired, while turnpikes were placed on the great Northern road, in the counties of Hertford, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. Rivers were deepened for the purposes of internal conveyance by water. The acts of navigation created ship-carpenters and sailors, though these salutary laws were long complained of, as destructive to commerce. Foreign trade was increased by opening new markets, and by withdrawing the alien duties, which had always obstructed the vent of native manufactures. Those measures alone, that made internal communications at once easy and safe, would have promoted the prosperity, and the population of any country.

But, above all, the change of manners, and the intermixture of the higher and middle ranks, by marriages, induced the gentry, and even the younger branches of the nobility, to bind their sons apprentices to merchants, and thereby to enoble a profession, that was before only gainful; to invigorate traffic by their greater capitals, and to extend its operations by their superior knowledge. Hence, Child, Petty, and Davenant, agreed in asserting,

asserting\*, in opposition to the party writers of the times, that the commerce and riches of England did never, in any former age, encrease so fast as in the busy period from the Restoration to the Revolution.

Yet, in 1680, was published *Britannia Linguens*; in order to prove that, in the same period, a kind of common consumption bath crowded upon us.

The truth of their conclusion is, however, proved more satisfactorily by the following detail, than by any document, which has been yet submitted to the public. It is an authentic account of *the Customs*, which were collected in England, and which, as they more than doubled in the period from the Restoration to the Revolution, shew clearly, that the trade of England prospered, in the mean time, nearly in the same proportion. There was an additional duty on wines imposed, in 1672, and an impost on wine, tobacco, and

\* The Board of Trade represented in December 1697: "We have made inquiry into the state of trade in general, from the year 1670 to the present time: and from the best calculations we can make, by the duties paid at the Custom-house, we are of opinion, that trade in general did considerably increase, from the end of the Dutch war in 1673, to 1689, when the late war began." Yet, the Board seem not to have attended to the 25 Cha. II. ch. 6; which wisely enacted, That *Denizens* and *Aliens* should pay no more taxes for the *native commodities* of this kingdom, or for *fish caught in English ships*, when exported, than subjects.

linen, in 1685: But, as these duties were kept separate, they appear neither to have swelled, nor diminished, the usual receipt of the custom-house duties, in any of the years, either of peace, or of war:



An Account of the Customs, which were received  
in the following Years of Peace, and of War :

Years.	Duty of Customs.		New additional Duty on Wines.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
From 24th July 1660, to 29th September 1661	421,582	7 11		
The year ended 29th September - 1662	414,946	15 10 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1663	525,415	14 4		
Ditto, - 1664	579,662	11 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1665	519,072	4 2		
Ditto, - 1666	303,766	10 1 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1667	408,324	— 2 $\frac{3}{4}$		
The year ended Michaelmas - - 1668	626,998	5 4 $\frac{3}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1669	519,573	19 2 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1670	516,229	19 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Ditto, - 1671	525,736	15 4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Ditto, - 1672	563,383	1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	148,959	2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, - 1673	507,763	6 6	165,622	10 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, - 1674	636,132	10 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	127,443	16 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto, - 1675	674,133	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	122,001	16 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, - 1676	650,878	7 1	150,692	1 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, - 1677	677,626	15 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	149,770	19 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, - 1678	646,325	12 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	126,126	16 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, - 1679	592,762	11 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	96,639	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, - 1680	633,562	8 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	156,132	11 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, - 1681	621,615	12 —	90,222	7 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ditto, - 1682	742,721	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	221	9 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ditto, - 1683	768,166	9 2 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1684	780,660	19 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 14	4
Ditto, - 1685	701,504	3 4		
Ditto, - 1686	780,679	14 8 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Ditto, - 1687	884,955	— 3 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Ditto, - 1688	781,987	2 9 $\frac{1}{2}$		

From the before-mentioned circumstances, and  
facts, which prove, that there had been many ad-  
ditional employments, we may reasonably infer,

E

that

that there had also been a considerable augmentation of inhabitants, who were the more important to the state, because they were the most industrious. But many emigrated, it has been said, to the colonies, and many perished by pestilence. Yet, the Lord Chief Justice Hale insists, "That mankind hath still increased, even to manifest sense and experience:" and because, says he, this is an assertion of fact, it is impossible to be made out, but by instances of fact. If however, he adds, we should institute a comparison between the present time (1670), and the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558), and compare the number of trained soldiers then and now, the number of subsidy men then and now, they will easily give an account of a very great increase of people within this kingdom, even to admiration\*.

A mere

\* See Lord Hale's convincing argument in *The Origination of Mankind considered*, ch. 10. Sir John Dalrymple found, in King William's cabinet, a minute account of the number of freeholders in England, which was taken by order of that monarch, in order to find out the proportion between churchmen, dissenters, and papists; and which Sir John has published in the Appendix to his Memoirs:

	Conformists.	Non Con.	Papists.
In Canterbury and York	2,477,254	108,676	13,856
Contrast with these the before-mentioned communicants and recusants, in 1603	2,057,033	—	8,465

This comparison, after allowing for the original inaccuracies

A mere question of fact, with regard to the number of births, at any two distant periods, may doubtless be either confirmed, or disproved, by an appeal to the parish registers; which, containing a collection of facts, may be regarded as one of the best proofs, that the nature of the enquiry admits. And the Lord Chief Justice Hale remarked of them, because he was struck with the force of their evidence, *That they gave a greater demonstration of the gradual increase of mankind, than a hundred notional arguments can either evince or confute.* For, a greater number of births, in any one period more than at any prior epoch, must proceed from a greater number of breeders; which denotes a more numerous population. And, from an attentive examination of such proofs, Graunt proceeded\*, in 1662, to shew, with great ability, the progressive increase of the people, and to prove how easily the country could supply the capital

cities of both accounts, shews a great change in the numbers, in the opinions, and practice of the people, from 1603 to 1689.

\* See The Observations on the Bills of Mortality. Doctor Price has quoted Tindal, for the fact, That there appeared, by the hearth-books of 1665, in England and Wales,

	1,230,000 houses.
The acknowledged number in 1690	— 1,300,000
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>

This, if we may credit Tindal, is sufficient evidence of a rapid increase in no long period, Graunt calculated the people of England and Wales, in 1662, at 6,440,000 persons.

with numerous recruits, without any sensible diminution.

Having thus traced a gradual progress in population, it is now time to ascertain the precise numbers at the Revolution. And Gregory King, who has been praised by Davenant for his research and his skilfulness, has left us documents, from which we may form an estimate sufficiently accurate for the uses of history, or the purposes of legislation. From an inspection of the hearth-books, and the assessments on marriages, births, and burials, King formed calculations of the numbers of families, houses, and people; which, according to Davenant, "were perhaps more to be relied upon, than any thing that had been ever done of the like kind."

It had been the fashion of the preceding age to state the numbers of mankind, in every country, too high: from this period ingenious men were carried away by a reprehensible self-sufficiency to calculate them too low. Of the statements of King, it was remarked by Mr. Robert Harley\*, in 1697, "These assessments are no good foundation; heads at a medium being (according to the computation) *per* house in London only *five*: omissions in the country are probably greater than in London, because numbering the people is there more terrible. The polls are instances: families of seven or eight persons, being not

\* Harl. MSS. in the Museum, Nos. 6,837—7,021.



“ numbered at above three or four persons in some  
 “ remote counties.” Yet, by thus calculating  $4\frac{1}{3}$ ,  
 instead of 5, in every *family*, which was still con-  
 sidered as synonymous with *household*, this would  
 demonstrate an increase of a million, during the  
 foregoing century. So our poets used the word  
*household* to signify *a family living together*: Thus,  
 SHAKSPEARE:—

“ Two *households*, both alike in dignity,  
 In fair Verona, where we lay our scene,  
 From ancient grudge break to new mutiny.”

Thus, MILTON:

Of God observ'd  
 The one just man alive, by his command,  
 Should build a wond'rous ark, as thou beheldst,  
 To save himself and *household* from amidst  
 A world devote to universal wreck.

Thus, the more flippant SWIFT:

In his own church he keeps a seat,  
 Says grace before and after meat;  
 And calls, without affecting airs,  
 His *household* twice a-day to prayers,

Davenant, by publishing only extracts from  
 King's observations, and by speaking confusedly  
 of *families* and *houses*, has done an injury to King,  
 and to truth. All will appear consistent and clear,  
 when this ingenious calculator is allowed to speak  
 for himself.

The number of *houses* in the kingdom, as charged, says he, in the books of the Hearth Office at Lady Day 1690, were, — 1,319,215:  
 But, whereas the chimney money being charged on the tenant, or inhabitant, the divided houses stand as so many distinct dwellings, in the accounts of the said Hearth Office. And whereas the empty houses, smiths' shops, &c. are included in the said account, all which may very well amount to 1 in 36 or 37, (or near 3 *per cent.*) which, in the whole, may be about 36,000 houses; it follows, that the true number of *inhabited houses* is not above - 1,290,000; which, however, we shall call, in round numbers, — — — 1,300,000

Having thus adjusted the number of houses, we come now, continues he, to apportion the number of souls to each, according to what we have observed from the said assessments on marriages, births, and burials.

London within the walls produced almost	-	-	-	$5\frac{1}{2}$ <i>per house.</i>
Sixteen parishes without, full	-			$4\frac{1}{2}$
The rest of the bills of mortality almost	-	-	-	$4\frac{1}{2}$
The other cities and market towns				$4\frac{1}{3}$
The villages and hamlets	-			4

So,

	Inhabited houses.	per house.	Souls.
So, London and the bills of mortality con- tained - -	105,000	at 4,57	479,600
The cities and market towns	195,000	4,3	838,500
The villages and hamlets -	1,000,000	4	4,000,000
In all -	<u>1,300,000</u>	<u>4,9</u>	<u>5,318,100</u>

But, considering that the omissions in the said assessments may well be,

In London and the bills of morta- lity - - -	10 per cent.	or	47,960 souls
In the cities and market towns -	2 per cent.	or	16,500
In the villages and hamlets - -	1 per cent.	or	<u>40,000</u>
In all - - -	-	-	<u>104,460 souls:</u>

It follows, that the true number of people, dwelling in the 1,300,000 *inhabited houses*, should be - - - - - 5,422,560.

Lastly; whereas the number of transitory people, as seamen and soldiers, may be accounted 140,000; whereof nearly one half, or 60,000, have no place in the said assessments: and that the number of vagrants, as hawkers, pedlars, crate

carriers, gipsies, thieves, and beggars, may be reckoned 30,000; whereof above one half, or 20,000, may not be taken notice of in the said assessments, making in all 80,000 persons: It follows, that the whole number of people in England and Wales is much about 5,500,000; viz.

In London	-	-	-	530,000	fouls
In the other cities and towns	-			870,000	
In the villages and hamlets	-			4,100,000	
				<hr/>	
In all	-	-	-	5,500,000	
				<hr/>	

The number of inhabited *houses*

being about - - - 1,300,000

The number of *families* about 1,360,000

The people answer at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *per* house, and 4 *per* family.

Thus much from Gregory King's Political Observations \*. And his statements are doubtless very curious, and even exact, though we now know, that the number of dwellers, which he allowed to every house, and to every family, was a good deal under the truth, as Mr. Robert Harley at the time suspected.

Subsequent inquirers have enumerated the houses and the inhabitants of various villages, towns, and cities, instead of relying on the defective returns of

\* There is a very fair copy of King's Observations, in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. No. 1,898.



tax-gatherers. Doctor Price became at length disposed to admit, from the enumerations which he had seen, that *five* persons and a sixth, reside in every house\*. Mr. Howlet, from a still greater number of enumerations, insists † for five and two-fifths. It will at last be found, perhaps ‡, that five and two-fifths are the smallest number, which, on an average of the whole kingdom, dwells in every house.

Little doubt can surely now remain of there having been in England and Wales 1,300,000 inhabited houses at the Revolution. Were we to multiply this number by *five*, it would demonstrate a population of six millions and a half: were we to

\* Reversionary Payments, v. ii. p. 288.

† Examination of Price, p. 145.

‡ In 1773, Dr. Price insisted that there were *not quite five in every house*. [Observations on Reversionary Payments, 3d edition, p. 184.] In 1783, the Doctor seemed willing to allow five one-sixth in every house: But he still contends, That if you throw out of the calculation Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other populous towns, the number in every house *ought to be less than five*. [Observations on Reversionary Payments, 4th edit. v. ii. p. 288—9.] The Rev. Mr. New made a very accurate enumeration of the parish of St. Philip and St. Jacob in the city of Bristol, during the year 1781, and found 1,529 inhabited houses, and therein 9,850 souls. These numbers prove, that more than six one-third dwell in every house. And from this enumeration we may infer, That in the full inhabited city of Bristol, six at least reside in every house. If, in the spirit of Doctor Price, we throw out of the calculation all populous places, and studiously collect such decaying towns as Sandwich, the proportion to every house must be limited to *five*.

multiply

multiply by five and two-fifths, or even by five and one-fifth, this operation would carry the number up nearly to seven millions: and seven millions were considered by some of the most intelligent men of that day, as the whole amount of the people of this kingdom at the Revolution.

But, if we take the lowest number, of six millions and a half, and compare it with five millions, the highest number probably in 1588, this comparison would evince an increase of a million and a half in the subsequent century, and of more than four millions, from 1377. Yet, Doctor Price considered the epoch of the *Reformation* (1517) as a period of greater population than the æra of the Revolution.

In giving an account of the reign of King William, Sir John Dalrymple remarks, "That *three and twenty regiments were completed in six weeks.* This is doubtless an adequate proof of the ardour of the times, but it is a very slight evidence of an overflowing populousness. Want of employment often sends recruits to an army, which, in more industrious years, would languish without hope of reinforcements. We may learn, indeed, from Sir Josiah Child, That it was a question agitated, during the reign of Charles II. "If we have more  
 " people now than in former ages, how came it to  
 " pass, that in the times of Henry IV. and V. and  
 " even in prior times, we could raise such great  
 " armies, and employ them in foreign wars, and  
 " yet retain a sufficient number to defend the  
 " king-

kingdom, and to cultivate our lands at home?  
 “ I answer first,” says this judicious writer, “ that  
 “ bigness of armies is not a certain indication of  
 “ the numerousness of a nation, but sometimes of  
 “ the government and distribution of the lands;  
 “ where the prince and lords are owners of the  
 “ whole territory: although the people be thin,  
 “ the armies upon occasion may be very great, as  
 “ in Fez and Morocco. Secondly, princes armies  
 “ in Europe are become more proportionable to  
 “ their purses, than to the numbers of their peo-  
 “ ple.”

Thus much it was thought proper to premise, with regard to the previous condition and policy of England, as well as its populousness at different periods anterior to *The Revolution*, when THIS ESTIMATE begins.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Opinions as to the Strength of Nations.—Reflections.—The real Power of England, during King William's Reign.—The State of the Nation.—The Losses of her Trade from King William's Wars.—Her Commerce revives.—Complaints of Decline, amidst her Prosperity.—Reflections.*

**T**HEORISTS are not agreed, in respect to those circumstances, which form the strength of nations, either actual, or comparative. One considers the power of a people “to consist in their numbers and wealth.” Another insists, “that the force of every community most essentially depends on the capacity, valour, and union of the leading characters of the state.” And a third, adopting partly the sentiments of both, contends, “that though numbers and riches are highly important, and the resources of war may decide a contest, where other advantages are equal; yet the resources of war, in hands that cannot employ them, are of little avail, since manners are as essential, as either people or wealth.”

It is not the purpose of this Estimate to amuse the fancy with uninstrucive definitions, or to bewilder the judgment with verbal disputations, which are as unmeaning as they are unprofitable. The  
glories

glories of the war of 1756 have cast a continued ridicule on the far-famed *Estimator of the manners and principles of those times*. Recent struggles have thrown equal ridicule on other calculators of an analogous spirit. And we may find reason in the end to conclude, that the qualities of the mind, either vigorous or effeminate, have undergone, in this island, no unhappy change, whatever alteration there certainly is in the labour of the hands of our people, from the epoch of the Revolution to the present moment.

But, from general remark, let us descend to minute investigations, with regard to the progressive numbers of the people, to the extent of their industry, and to the successive amount of their traffic and accumulations; because our resources arose then, as they arise now, *from the land and labour of this island alone*.

The insult offered by France to the sovereignty of England, by giving an asylum to an abdicated monarch, and by disputing the right of a high-minded people to regulate their own affairs, forced King William into an eight years war with that potent country, which he personally hated, and with which he ardently wished to quarrel. He had therefore no inclination to weigh in very scrupulous scales the wealth of his subjects against the greater opulence of their rivals, who were in those days more industrious, and were further advanced in the practice of manufacture, and knowledge  
of



of traffic. Yet, the desire of that warlike monarch being seconded by the zeal of his people, whose resources were not then equal to their bravery, he was enabled to engage in an arduous dispute for the most honourable end. Happy! had hostilities ended, as soon as the independence of the nation was vindicated from insult, and when the interests of the people required the cessation of warfare.

We may form a sufficient judgment of the strength of England, at that æra, from the following detail :

The number of *fighting men*, according to the calculation of Gregory King, as cited with approbation by Davenant, was 1,308,000; yet the one-fourth of the people formed the men fit for war, whatever may have been the real population of England, during the reign of King William.

The yearly income of the nation from its land and labour amounted, if we may credit the statement of Gregory King, to

	£.43,500,000
--	--------------

The yearly expence of the people for their necessary subsistence	- - 41,700,000
--	----------------

The yearly accumulation of profit	£.1,800,000
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The

The value of the whole kingdom, according to Gregory King, £.650,000,000 \*; which, forming the capital whence income arose, was no proper fund for taxation.

Davenant states, from various *conjectures* and *calculations*, the circulating money at £.18,500,000 †, while there yet existed in the nation no paper-money, and little circulation; which, by facilitating the easy transfer of property, is so favourable to the levying of taxes.

King James's annual income amounted only to £.2,061,856. 7s. 9½d. ‡; which was a greater revenue than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed.

Of this there remained in the exchequer, on the 5th of November, 1688, £.80,138 §; which

\* See Gregory King's Polit. Observ. in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. No. 1,898.

† Gregory King having stated the silver coin at eight million and a half in 1688, and the gold coin at three million, Mr. Robert Harley thereupon remarked, "That the mint accounts would make us believe there is more gold coin than three million; but both accounts together would make a good estimate."—MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. 1,898. The circulating coin may therefore be taken at eleven million and a half during King William's reign. It was one of the tenets of Doctor Price, to maintain, that we had more coins in circulation, during those times than at present.

‡ Hist. of Debts, p. 6—7.

§ For the accurate informations, which these sheets convey from a transcript of the Exchequer-books in King William and Queen Anne's reigns, the public owe an additional obligation, and the compiler a kindness, to the liberal communication of Mr. Atle.

little enabled King William either to defray the expences of the Revolution, or to prepare for a war with France.

The nett income paid into the exchequer, in 1691, from the customs and excise, from the land, and from polls, amounted only to £.4,249,757; of which there were applied towards carrying on the war £.3,393,634, and to the support of the civil establishment £ 856,123\*.

The average of the annual supplies during the war, which were raised with difficulty from a dissatisfied people, amounted only to £.5,105,505 †; whence we may form an opinion of the force, which could then be exerted, though it must be admitted, that the same nominal sum had in those days a greater power than it had in after times.

There were borrowed by the government, at an interest of seven and eight *per cent.* while the legal interest of money was only six, from the 5th of November, 1688, to Lady-day, 1702 - - - - - £.44,100,795;  
 Of which there were mean while repaid - - - - - 34,034,018;  
 Of this debt there remained due at \_\_\_\_\_  
 Lady-day, 1702 ‡ - - - £.10,066,777

So unproductive had each branch of taxes proved, during every year of the war, that the revenue, which had existed before it began, fell above one-

\* Mr. Astle's Transcript.

† Id.

‡ Id.

half in five years\* ; and the deficiencies appeared to have swelled, before the session of 1696, to what was then deemed the enormous sum of £.6,000,460 ; which greatly enfeebled every exertion of the government, by the advance in the price of all things. The annual collection of taxes, to the amount of two million and a half, more than had been levied on the country in preceding times, while their foreign trade was cut off, was alone sufficient to embarrass a people, who had greater powers of industry and circulation. It is an instructive fact, which is transmitted by Davenant, that imposts did not then enhance the price of the commodity to the consumer, when in its highest state of improvement, but fell on the grower, who sold the article in its rudest condition: the excise did not raise the price of malt, but lowered the price of barley. And this fact evinces how much consumption was embarrassed, and circulation obstructed, during the distresses of the Revolution war.

The annual value of the surplus produce of the land and labour of England, which was then exported to foreign countries, amounted only to £.4,086,087. Had the coins of England been as numerous as Davenant supposed them, they could not long have carried on a war beyond the limits of the empire. And the cargoes, which were thus sent abroad, could not, from their inconsiderableness, have filled a mighty void, for any length of years.

\* Davenant's Essay on Ways and Means.

The tonnage of English shipping, which were annually employed for the exportation of the before-mentioned cargoes, amounted only to 190,533 tons; which, if we allow them to have been navigated at the rate of twelve mariners to every two hundred tons, required only 11,432 sailors; yet this was the principal nursery, whence the navy of England could alone be manned, during the wars of King William.

The following statement will give us ideas sufficiently accurate of the progressive force of the royal fleet:

	Tons.	Sailors.
Which in 1660 carried	62,594	—
in 1675	69,681	30,951
in 1688	101,032	—
in 1695	112,400	45,000

Such, then, was the naval force that, during the hostilities of William, could be sent into the line against the potent navy of France, which, in one busy reign, had been created, and raised to greatness. It was found almost impossible to man the fleet, though the admiralty were empowered by Parliament to lay strict embargoes on the merchants ships\*. And this alone ought to give us a lesson

\* Sir J. Dalrymple has published a paper [Appendix, p. 242.] in order to justify King William from the charge—“of not exerting the natural strength of England in a sea-war against France, after the battle of La Hogue;” which proves.



a lesson of what importance it is to the state to augment the native race of carpenters and sailors by every possible means.

The great debility of England, during the war of the Revolution, arose from the practice of hoarding in times of distrust, which prevented circulation; from the disorders of the coin, that greatly augmented the former evil, while the government issued tallies of wood for the supplying of specie; from the inability of the people to pay taxes, while they could find no circulating value, either

proves, that his ministers thought it impossible to increase the fleet;—"as not having ships enough, nor men, unless we stop even the craft-trade." There are a variety of documents in the Plantation-office, which demonstrate the same position. And see the subjoined comparative view of the fleets of France and of England, in 1693.

The following "Comparison of the French and English fleets in 1693, formed from lists brought into the House of Commons by Secretary Trenchard," will shew how nearly equal they were in force, even subsequent to the victory of La Hogue in the preceding year. [Bibl. Harley, Brit. Museum, No. 1,398.]

Ships from	French Fleet.			English Fleet.			Difference.	
	At Brest.	At Toulon.	Total.	In being.	Build-ing.	Total.	More.	Less.
40 to 50 guns	3	5	8.	31	0	31.	23	0.
50 to 60	10	4	14.	7	1	8.	0	6.
60 to 70	23	9	32.	14	3	17.	0	15.
70 to 80	13	3	16.	25	2	25.	9	0.
80 to 90	7	1	8.	8	6	14.	6	0.
90 to 100	6	4	10.	11	0	11.	1	0.
100 to 10½	6	1	7.	5	0	5.	0	2.
	68	27	95.	99	12	111.	39	23.

for their labour or property: add to these, the turbulence of the lower orders, and the treachery of the great. And above all, if we may believe the ministers of King William \*, *Nobody knew one day what a House of Commons would do the next.*

From this review of the debility of England, we may with the more propriety inquire into the losses of our trade, during that distressful war. A more confirmed commerce could not have stood so rude a shock as our manufactures and commerce received, from the imbecility of friends, no less than from the vigour of foes, amidst a disastrous course of hostilities of eight years continuance. And the clamours, which were in the end justly raised against the managers of the marine, were assuredly founded in prodigious losses. An examination of the following proofs will evince this melancholy truth :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Total.	Value of
	Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.			their cargoes.
					£.
1688	190,533	95,267	285,800	—	4,086,087
1696	91,767	83,024	174,791	—	2,729,320
Annual loss	<u>98,766</u>	<u>12,243</u>	<u>111,009</u>	—	<u>1,356,567</u>
The nett revenue of the posts in				— 1688	£. 76,318
D <sup>o</sup>				— 1697	58,672 †

Dr. Davenant took a different way to go to the same point, because he had not access to a better.

\* Dal. Mem. Appendix, p. 240.

† Mr. Aftle's Transcript.

Having stated the yearly amount of the customs, from 1688 to 1695 inclusive, he inferred from the annual defalcations: "So that it appears sufficiently, that in general, since this war, our trade is very much diminished, as by a medium of seven years the customs are lessened about £.138,707. 7s. a year." Dr. Davenant justly complained of the breaches of the Act of Navigation, "during the slack administration of this war;" so that strangers seem to have beaten us out of our own ports. For, it was observed, that there were, in the port of London,

	Tons English.		D <sup>o</sup> foreign.		Total.
During the year 1695 *	65,788	—	83,238	—	149,026
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>

It would be injurious to conceal, that the same author, who seems, however, to have some-

\* If with the year mentioned by Davenant, we contrast the following years, we shall see an astonishing increase of the navigation and commerce of London. Thus, there were entered in this great port,

	Tons. English.		D <sup>o</sup> foreign.		Total.
In 1710	70,915	—	40,280	—	110,195
19	187,122	—	11,468	—	198,590
58	125,086	—	69,060	—	194,146
82	210,656	—	125,248	—	335,904
83	277,797	—	169,170	—	446,967
84	372,775	—	92,043	—	464,818
	<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		<hr style="width: 100%;"/>

The number of ships, which were registered in the port of London, in the year ending the 30th Sept. 1793, was 1,886, carrying 378,787 tons.

times complained without a cause, acknowledged, "That perhaps no care nor wisdom in the world could have fully protected our trade during this last war with France."

An attentive examination of the numbers of our ships cleared outwards, and of the cargoes exported in them, will convince every candid mind, that in every war there is a point of depression, in trade, as there is in all things, beyond which it does not decline; and from which it gradually rises beyond the extent of its former greatness, unless it meet with additional checks. And the year 1694\* marked,

\* The following detail, from the Plantation-office, will give the reader a still clearer view of the navigation of England, during the embarrassments of the Revolution war.

		Ships cleared outwards.			Ships entered inwards.		
		Tons	D <sup>o</sup>	Total.	Tons	D <sup>o</sup>	Total.
		English.	foreign.		English.	foreign.	
1693	{ London,	44,912	- 59,750	- 104,662	36,512	- 80,875	- 117,387
	{ Outports,	73,176	- 28,752	- 101,928	32,616	- 27,876	- 60,492
	Total,	118,088	- 88,502	- 206,590	69,128	- 108,751	- 177,879
					Balance of Trade,	28,611	
							206,590
1694	{ London,	39,648	- 41,500	- 81,148	59,472	- 76,500	- 135,972
	{ Outports,	33,408	- 28,224	- 61,632	35,158	- 28,910	- 64,068
	Total,	73,056	- 69,724	- 142,780	94,630	- 105,410	- 200,040
					Balance of Trade,	57,260	
							20,040

marked, probably, the lowest state to which the eight years hostilities of that disastrous period beat down the national traffic. But the commerce of England, which is sustained by immense capitals, and inspired by a happy skill and diligence, may be aptly compared to a spring of mighty powers, that always exerts its force in proportion to the weight of its compression; and that never fails to rebound with augmented energy, when the pressure is removed by the return of peace. It is nevertheless a fact equally true, that however the cessation of war may give fresh ardour to our industrious classes at home, and enable our merchants to export cargoes of unexampled extent; yet, there are never wanting writers, who, during this prosperous moment, complain of the decline of our manufactories, and the ruin of our trade. It is proposed to illustrate both these facts, in the following sheets; because, from the illustration we may derive both intelligence, and amusement.

Of the foregoing detail it ought to be observed, that it does not appear in the Plantation-office altogether in this form: the number of ships, English and foreign, entered either in London and the outports, is only specified, and the average tonnage of each thus particularly given: the English ships in the port of London were estimated at 112 tons each; the foreign at 125 tons each: the English ships at the outports at 72 each; the foreign at 98 tons each. Whence the editor was enabled, by an easy calculation, to lay before the public a more precise account of the commerce of England, during the war of the Revolution, than has yet been done.



Let us then attend to the following proofs:

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of car-
	Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	goes exported. £.
Peace of Ryf- wick, 1697 } 1699 } 1700 } 1701 }	144,264	- 100,524	- 244,788	- 3,525,907
	293,703	- 43,625	- 337,328	- 6,709,881
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

In addition to this satisfactory detail, let us consider the revenue of the post-office, which, shewing the extent of correspondence, at different periods, furnishes no bad proof of the progress of commerce. The nett income of the posts, according to an average of the eight years of King William's wars - - - - - £.67,222  
D<sup>o</sup> of the four years of subsequent  
peace - - - - - 82,319\*

Yet, amidst all this prosperity, Pollexfen, one of the Board of Trade, published a *discourse* †, in 1697, in order to shew, "That, so great had been the losses of a seven years war, if a great stock be absolutely necessary to carry on a great trade, we may reasonably conclude the stock of this nation is so diminished, it will fall short; and that, without prudence and industry, we shall rather consume what is left, than recover what we have lost." Davenant, the antagonist of Pollexfen, stunned every

\* Mr. Astle's Transcript.

† Discourse on Trade, Coin, and Paper Credit.

coffee-house, at the same time, with his declamations on the decay of commerce. "It will be a great matter for the present," says he\*, "if we can recover the ground our trade has lost during the last war." But we have seen, that we had already gained *superior ground* at the precise moment wherein he, in this manner, lamented our recent losses both of shipping and trade. So different are the deductions of theory from the informations of experience, that temporary interruptions are constantly mistaken for symptoms of habitual decline. And our commercial writers, owing to this cause, are full of well-meaning falsehood, while they sometimes propagate purposed deception.

————— Phycic is their bane :

The learned leaches in despair depart,

And shake their heads, *desponding* of their art.

The Revolution may justly be regarded as an event in our annals, the most memorable and interesting; because its effects have been the happiest, in respect to the security, the comfort, and prosperity of the people. Yet, it has for some years been insisted, with a plausibility, which precludes the charge of intended paradox, that every cause of depopulation—*a devouring capital, the waste of wars, the drain of standing armies, emigrations to the colonies, the engrossing of farms, the in-*

\* Discourse on Trade, 1698.

*closing of commons, the high price of provisions, and unbounded luxury*—all have concurred, since that fortunate æra, to dispeople the nation; the numbers of which, it is pretended, have decreased a million and a half, and still continue to decrease.

In opposition to such controvertists it is not sufficient to argue, That, having traced a gradual advance in population, during six centuries of political distraction and domestic misery, and proved an addition of more than four millions to the original stock, in 1066, notwithstanding wasteful wars, desolating famines, and habitual debility; we ought thence to infer, that the position of a *decreasing populousness*, during a period the most free, and prosperous, and happy, can alone be maintained, by the decisive proof of enumerations, or at least, by a mode of induction, which is equal to them in the weight of its inference. It is proposed then, to continue a brief review of the principal occurrences in our history, since the year 1688, that could have either carried on the former progress of our population, or have promoted a gradual decline.

The Revolution did not indeed produce so much any alteration in the forms of the constitution, as it changed the maxims of administration; which have every where so great an influence on the condition of the governed. Yet, from thence a new æra is said\* to have commenced, in which the bounds

\* Blackst. Com. vol. i. p. 213.

of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of the subject more explicitly guarded by legal provisions, than in any other period of the English history. One article alone, in the Declaration of Rights, was worth, on account of the consolation, which it administered to the lower orders, the whole expence of the ensuing war: "That excessive bail shall not be required, or excessive fines be imposed, or cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted." Philosophers have justly remarked, that severity of chastisement has as natural a tendency to debase mankind, as mildness to elevate them. It was not so much from the declaration, *that the levying money without consent of Parliament is unlawful*, that private property was secured, as from the impartial administration of justice, which has regularly flowed from the independence of the Judges. Anderson\* did not forget to give "a brief view of the establishment of that free constitution, as it did certainly contribute greatly, in its consequences, to the advancement of our industry, manufactures, commerce, and shipping, as well as of our riches and people, notwithstanding several expensive and bloody wars."

The hearth-money was soon after taken away; "being a great oppression (say the Parliament) of the poorer sort, and a badge of slavery upon the

\* Chron. Acc. of Com. vol. ii. p. 189.—95.



whole." During the same session, the first bounty was given on the exportation of corn: "How much," says that laborious writer, "this bounty has contributed to the improvement of husbandry, is too obvious to be disputed:" and accordingly, the year 1699 has been noticed as the epoch of the last great dearth of corn in England. A flourishing agriculture must have necessarily promoted populousness in two respects; by offering encouragement to labour; by furnishing a supply of provisions at once constant and cheap, which were both extremely irregular in former times. The act of toleration, which was at the same time passed, by "giving ease to scrupulous consciences," tended to promote our industry and traffic, and consequently the progress of population: for, we may learn of Sir Josiah Child how many people had been driven out of England, from the rise of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, to the blessed æra of toleration.

On the other hand, it has been already shewn how much the eight-years war, which grew out of the Revolution, distressed the foreign trade of England. As King William employed chiefly the troops of other nations; as the profligate and the idle principally recruited the army; as humanity now softened the rigours of war; it may be justly doubted, if we lost a greater number by the miseries of the camp, than were acquired by the arrival of refugees, who, during that period, sought security in England. And of this opinion was



Doctor Davenant \*, who was no unconcerned spectator of those eventful times. Yet, it is a known fact, that the taxes, which were successively imposed, did not produce in proportion to their augmentations. And if we attribute this unfavourable circumstance to the inability and pressures of the people, more than to the novelty of contributions, to the enmity of many against the new government, and to the disorders of the coin, we ought undoubtedly to infer, that the imposition of additional burdens necessarily stopped the progress of numbers. The average price of wheat, from 1692 to 1699, was nearly *eight shillings the bushel*, according to Fleetwood. There have been terrible years *dearths* of corn, said Swift, and every place is strewn with beggars; but *dearths* are common in better climates, and our evils here lie much deeper.

Nevertheless, internal traffic flourished in the mean time. In 1689, the manufactures of copper and brass were revived, rather than introduced. The Sword-blade company, which settled in Yorkshire, “brought † over foreign workmen.” The French refugees improved the fabricks of paper, and of silk, especially the lutestrings and alamodes; which were so much encouraged by Parliament, that the weavers, being greatly increased in numbers, as well as in insolence, before the year 1697, raised a tumult in London against

\* Vol. iii. p. 369.

† And. Chron. Acc. of Com. vol. ii. p. 192.

the wearers of East India manufactures\*. The establishment of the Bank of England in 1694, by facilitating public and private circulation, produced all the salutary effects, that were originally foretold, because it has been constantly managed with a prudence, integrity, and caution, which have never been exceeded. By giving encouragement to fisheries, in 1695, a hardy race must have been greatly multiplied; and by encouraging, in 1696, the making of linens, subsistence was given to the young and the old.

The conclusion of every lengthened war deprives many men of support, who are therefore obliged to re-enter once more into the competitions of the world. Yet, Doctor Davenant † assured the Marquis of Normanby, in 1699, “that we really want people and hands to carry on the woollen and linen manufactories together.” Admitting the truth of an assertion, of which indeed there is no reason to doubt, the observation is altogether consistent with facts and with principles. In less than two years from the peace of Ryfwick, the disbanded idlers had been all engaged in the manufactories, which we have seen established, and in the foreign traffic, that has been shewn to have flourished so greatly from this epoch to the demise of King William. Now, what does the position of Davenant prove, more than that uncommon

\* And. Chron. Acc. of Com. vol. ii. p. 220.

† Essay on East India Trade, p. 46.

demand never fails to produce remarkable scarcity, till a sufficient supply has been found? And Sir Josiah Child was therefore induced, a hundred years ago, to lay it down as a maxim; *Such as our employment is for people, so many will our people be.* Were we now to compare the circumstance mentioned by Sir John Dalrymple, of the raising of three-and-twenty regiments in six weeks, during the year 1689, with the fact stated by Doctor Davenant, "of the scarcity of hands" in 1699, we ought to infer, that an alteration of manners, owing to whatever cause, had in the mean time taken place; and that the lower orders of men had learned from experience, to prefer the gainful employments of peace to the less profitable, and more dangerous, adventures of war.

Yet, admitting that the *moral causes* before-mentioned had naturally produced an augmentation of numbers, during the reign of William, we ought here to remark, that the people who chiefly shared in the felicities, or were incommoded by the factions of those times, must have drawn their first breath prior to the Revolution: the middle-aged, and the old, who enacted the laws, and as ministers, or magistrates, carried them into execution, must have been born, during the distractions of the civil wars, or amid the contests of the administration of Charles I.: and the gallant youth, who fought by the side of King William, must have first seen the light soon after the Restoration.

But, it ought here to be stated, as a circumstance,

stance, which may be supposed to have checked the progress of population, that there had been actually raised, though with some difficulty, on nearly seven millions of people, in thirteen years\* - - £. 58,698,688. 19s. 8d.:

If we average this sum by the number of years, we shall gain a pretty exact idea of King William's annual income - - £. 4,415,360:

And if from this we deduct King James's revenue - - 2,061,856:

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The balance of augmentation will be £. 2,453,504.

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The principal of the public debt on the 31st of December 1697 was - - - £. 21,515,743; whereon was paid an annual interest of - - - £. 1,246,376.

And, these facts shew how much more the people were burthened in the latter, than in the former, reign.

It has nevertheless been proved, that manufactures flourished in the mean time; that there was a great demand for labour; that the foreign traffic and navigation of England doubled, from the peace of Ryswick to the accession of Queen Anne. For, the re-coining of the silver mean time produced an exhilarating effect on industry, in the same proportion as the debasement of the current

\* Mr. Aisle's Transcript.

coin is always disadvantageous to the lower orders, and dishonourable to the state. The revival of public credit, after the peace of Ryswick, and the rising of the notes of the Bank of England to par, strengthened private confidence, at the same time, that these causes invigorated our manufactures and our trade. And, the spirit of population was still more animated by the many acts of naturalization, which were readily passed, during every session, in the reign of William; and which clearly evince, how many industrious foreigners found shelter in England, from the persecution of countries, less tolerant and free.



## C H A P. V.

*The War of Queen Anne.—The Strength of the Nation.—The Losses of Trade.—The Revival of Trade.—Complaints of its Decline.—The Laws of Queen Anne, for promoting the Commercial Interests of the Nation.—The Union.—Reflections.*

A NEW war, still more bloody and glorious than the former, ensued on the accession of Queen Anne. All Europe either hated the impiousness, or dreaded, at length, the power of Lewis XIV. But it was his “owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales to be king of England, Scotland, and Ireland,” which was the avowed cause of the hostilities of Great Britain against France; though private motives have generally more influence than public pretences. When her treasurer sat down to calculate the cost, he found resources in his own prudence. Her general saw armies and alliances rise out of his own genius for war and negotiation. And both estimated right, since a favourable change had gradually taken place in the spirit, as well as in the abilities of the people.

If we inquire more minutely into the national strength, we shall find, that England and Wales now contained about - - 1,700,000 fighting men.

The Union with Scotland  
added to these about - 325,000

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So the united kingdom  
contained - - 2,025,000

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But troops, without money to carry them to war, with all that soldiers require, are of little avail. And happy is it for this nation, at least, that there is a successive rise in the accumulations of our wealth, in the same manner, as we have already seen, there is a continual progress in our population; owing to the various means, which individuals constantly use, to meliorate their own condition. There can be little doubt then, though Gregory King supposed the contrary, that the productive capital and annual gains of the people were greater, at the accession of Anne, than they had been, during the preceding reign \*, or in any former period.

Godol-

\* After so expensive a war just ended, says Anderson, it gave foreigners a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of England, to see *two millions sterling* subscribed for in *three days*, (by the new East India Company in 1698) and there were persons ready to subscribe as much more: For, although since

Godolphin and Marlborough had not to contend with the embarrassments of their immediate predecessors. The disorders of the coin, which had so enfeebled the late administration, had been perfectly cured by the great re-coinage of the last reign. The high interest, which had been given, and the still higher profit, that was made, by purchasing government-securities, had drawn meanwhile much of the hoarded cash within the circle of commerce. No less than £. 3,400,000 of hammered money, which had been equally locked up, were brought into action, according to Davenant, by the act for suppressing it, in 1697. The Bank of England now lent its aid, by facilitating loans, and circulating exchequer bills. And the public debts and additional taxes filled circulation at present, and gave it activity; as they had equally produced similar effects, when the Long Parliament opened the coffers of England. Owing to all those causes, the statesmen of the reign of Anne borrowed money at five *per cent.* in 1702, and never gave more than six, during the war; which alone shews how the condition of this country had happily changed, from the time that seven and eight *per cent.* were paid, only a few years before.

that time higher proofs have appeared of the great riches of this nation, because our wealth is very visibly increased; yet, till then, continues he, there had never been so illustrious an instance of England's opulence. [Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 223.]

The principal of the public debt, on the 31st of December 1701, amounted to - £. 16,394,701;

whereon was paid an annual interest  
of - - - - - 1,109,123.

The taxes yielded nett into the exchequer, during the year 1701 - £. 3,769,375.

Of this inconsiderable revenue the current services for the navy ab-

sorbed — £. 1,046,397

the land service - 425,998

the ordnance - 49,940

the civil list - 704,339

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2,226,674

There were applied to the payment of the principal and interest of debts - - - 1,411,912

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3,638,586

Balance remaining unapplied —

130,789

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\* £. 3,769,375.

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The nett sums paid into the exchequer during the year 1703, from the customs, excise, post-office, land, and miscellaneous duties - £. 5,561,944:

\* Mr. Aftle's Transcript.

Of this sum there were issued for  
carrying on the war £. 3,666,430

For paying the civil list        589,981  
the interest of loans        430,307

Balance remaining for  
the payment of loans,

and other services -        875,226

———— \* £. 5,561,944.

The taxes, which were annually levied on the people, during the present reign, may be calculated from the nett sums paid into the exchequer in the years 1707—8—9—10, amounting yearly to £. 5,272,758. This gives us an idea sufficiently precise of the pecuniary powers, which could then be exerted by Britain. But the military operations of the government were more extensive than the annual supplies of the parliament: So that before Christmas 1711, unfunded debts were contracted to the amount of £. 9,471,325. This sum was then too large, as it is said, to be borrowed at any rate. The public creditors agreed to convert their claims into a capital, at a specified interest, with charges of management. And here is the origin of the South Sea Company, and South Sea Stock, which, whatever help they now brought with them, in after times, were perverted to very distressful projects,

\* Mr. Aisle's Transcript.



The supplies granted, during the present reign, amounted to - - - £.69,815,457. 11s. 3½*d.*

The expences of the war, as they were stated by the commissioners of public accounts, amounted to - - - - - £.65,853,799. 8s. 7½*d.*\*

And the national debt swelled, before the 31st December 1714, to - £.50,644,306. 13s. 6¼*d.*; on which was paid an interest of † £.2,811,903. 10s. 5½*d.* and which were all more than counter-balanced by the legislative encouragements, that were given, in this reign, to domestic industry and foreign trade.

The surplus produce of our land and labour, which was yearly exported, had mean time risen to £.6,045,432; a circumstance, which equally evinces, that we had not yet much to spare, and consequently no vast remittance, which could be annually sent abroad for carrying on the war.

The tonnage of English ships, which, from time to time, transported this cargo, and which, at that epoch, formed the principal nursery for the royal navy, had increased to - 273,693 tons; this shipping must have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons, by - 16,422 failors.

By an enumeration ‡ of the trading vessels of England, in January 1701, it appeared, that

\* Camp. Pol. Survey, vol. ii. p. 543.

† Hist. of Debt, p. 80; which gives a particular statement.

‡ A detail in the Plantation-office.

London had - - 84,882 tons,

The out-ports had 176,340

————— 261,222; and  
that they were navigated by 16,471 men, and  
120 boys, or 16,591 sailors.

The inconsiderable difference between the enumerated tonnage and mariners, and the tonnage and mariners cleared at the custom house, only marks, that several ships had entered more than once, and that a greater number of men were then allowed to every vessel than there are now; whence we may infer, that the calculation and the enumeration prove the accuracy of each other.

The royal navy, which in	Tons.	Men.
1695 had carried —	112,000	and 45,000,
had mouldered before		
1704* to — —	104,754	— 41,000
	—————	—————

\* An admiralty-list of all her Majesty's ships and vessels in sea-pay, at home and abroad, on the 27th of February 1703-4, with the highest complement of men, and the numbers borne, mustered, and wanting. [From the Paper-office.]

	Number of ships.	Rates.	
	5 — of	— 2	
	40 — —	— 3	
	57 — —	— 4	
	33 — —	— 5	
	16 — —	— 6,	besides fire-ships,
bombs, and smaller vessels, all which			

	Complement of Men.	Borne.	Mustered.
Contained	46,745 —	39,720 —	30,778
Wanting	— —	7,025 —	15,967

Its

Its real force will, however, more clearly appear from the following detail\* :

Ships of the line employ-

ed in	—	1702	-	74	in	1707	-	72
		1703	-	79	—	1708	-	69
		1704	-	74	—	1709	-	67
		1705	-	79	—	1710	-	62
		1706	-	78	—	1711	-	59
		---		---		---		---

Such then was the augmented strength of the nation under Queen Anne. Let us now enquire into the losses of our trade, during her glorious, but unproductive, war.

The effort of the belligerent powers was made chiefly by land; and the foreign trade of England seems to have rather languished, than to have been overpowered, as it had been, for a season, during the preceding contest. Let us examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes. £.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	
1700	273,693	- 43,635	- 317,328	- 6,045,432
1				
2	}			
1705	-----	-----	-----	5,308,966
1709	243,693	- 45,625	- 289,318	- 5,913,357
1711	266,047	- 57,890	- 323,937	- 5,962,988
1712	326,620	- 29,115	- 355,735	- 6,868,840
	-----	-----	-----	-----

\* Philips's State of the Nation, p. 35.

The revenue of the post-office \*, on an average of the four last years of William, yielded nett — — £.82,319  
Ditto of the four first years of the war - 61,568

Thus, the year 1705 marked the lowest stage of the depression of commerce, during Queen Anne's wars; whence it gradually rose till 1712, the last year of hostilities, when our navigation and traffic had gained a manifest superiority over those of any former period of peace.

Let us behold the rebound of this mighty spring, when the return of tranquillity had removed every pressure, by contrasting the average of the ships cleared outwards, and of the value of their cargoes, during the three peaceful years preceding the war, with both, during the three years immediately following the treaty of Utrecht.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	D° foreign.	Total.	
1699 } 1700 } 1701 }	293,703 -	43,625 -	337,328 -	£. 6,709,881
1713 } 1714 } 1715 }	421,431 -	26,573 -	448,004 -	7,696,573

\* Mr. Aisle's Transcript.

The nett annual revenue * of the post-office, according to an average of the years 1707—8—9—10	—	£.58,052
Ditto on an average † of the years 1711—12—13—14	—	90,223

At the moment of this marvellous advance in manufactures, traffic, and industry, the people were taught to believe, that these blessings scarcely existed among them. "Our trade," said Mr. William Wood to King George I. † "was then expiring; our foreign commerce, in many parts, entirely lost, and in general suspended; what little was left us, was become too precarious to be called ours." And, in the encomiastic style of his dedication, he attributed our regeneration from "the lost condition our trade was then in, to his Majesty's timely accession." The ministers of this monarch did little honour to themselves, by in-

\* Mr. Astle's Transcript.

† And. Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 266; But, the office had been now extended to every dominion of the crown, and the rates of postage augmented one-third from 1710. The post-office revenue, says Anderson, is a kind of *politico-commercial pulse* of a nation's prosperity or decline.

‡ Wood's Dedication of *The Survey of Trade*. This was not the same William Wood, who obtained the patent for coining Irish halfpence, which procured him so much celebration by Swift; but it was the William Wood, who was afterwards appointed to the office of Secretary to the Commissioners of the Customs,

citing



citing all that clamour, or by propagating so much factious falsehood. It was not the peace of Utrecht, which promoted the unexampled prosperity of our commercial affairs; but, it was *peace*. Yet, said Archibald Hutchinson, in 1720, *It is too well known, and a sad truth it is, that the balance of trade has been for some time against us.* The cause why *declamations* prevail so greatly, said Hooker, is, for that men suffer themselves to be deluded.

The public revenue had now been divided into the *established income*, as the inland duties, the excise, and the customs; and into *annual grants*, as the malt, and the land, taxes. The inland duties, consisting at the demise of the Queen of fifteen distinct heads, were all managed by distinct commissioners, and may be estimated at the yearly amount of £.453,002, from an average of the years 1707—8—9—10. The excise, properly so called, and collected under the peculiar management of the commissioners of excise, consisted of twenty-seven different articles, and may be calculated, from the same average, at £. 1,629,245, including the duty on malt. And we may thence determine how much it may have obstructed labour, and checked the progress of population. The nett customs, arising from our imports and exports, consisted then of forty-one different branches, and may be calculated from a fifteen years average, from 1700 to 1714 inclusive, to have amounted to £. 1,352,764\*.

\* Philip's State of the Nation, p. 26.

Having enumerated "that sad detail of taxes," the historian of our debts exclaims: "Can we wonder at the decay of our commerce, under such circumstances? Should not we rather wonder that we have any left?" But, what regard is there due to a general inference, in opposition to authentic facts? It has been already demonstrated, that in no former effluxion of time did the manufactures and trade of England flourish so much, or amount to so large an extent, as at the demise of Queen Anne, notwithstanding the greatness of our imposts, and the immensity of our debts. And, when we consider too, that the taxes had produced abundantly, we may from these decisive circumstances certainly conclude, that the war had little incommoded the industrious classes; and that the principle of procreation exerted its powers, while an attentive diligence preserved a numerous progeny, by furnishing the constant means of subsistence, while there was a vast export of corn, owing to its cheapness at home.

Whoever examines the laws of Queen Anne, with a view to this subject, must be of opinion, that they all tended to promote the commercial interests, and local improvements, of the nation, as such interests were then understood. In this reign, there were acts of Parliament passed,

For encouraging shipping and foreign trade	-	17
For promoting manufactures	-	5
For roads, churches, bridges, and paving	-	26
For piers, harbours, &c.	-	10
For inclosures, and agricultural improvements		8
For the management of the poor	-	5
		<hr/>
For all these useful purposes	-	71
		<hr/>

But, the union of the two kingdoms is the glory, and ought to be the boast of her reign. The incorporation of two independent legislatures has proved equally advantageous to both countries, whether we regard the interest of the state, or the happiness of the governed. When we consider the weakness, which resulted from the ancient inroads of the Scotch, and the danger of future separation, we must allow, that this conjunction was worth to England almost any price. And the compression of the hearts and hands of two divided nations, gave an elasticity and vigour to the united kingdoms, which separately neither had ever attained. If as communities so much strength and felicity were derived from the Union, the Scottish people, as individuals at least, were still greater gainers from this association of interests and affections. Freed from the tyranny of the nobles, by being admitted into a political system more liberal than their own, the people of Scotland thenceforth enjoyed the same privileges, as similar ranks in England had long derived from fortunate events,

or wise institutions. And, invested with the same benefits of commerce, the Scotch meliorated their agriculture, improved their manufactures, extended their trade, and acquired an opulence, which, as a people, separate and overshadowed, they had not for ages accomplished. The acquisitions of both happily proved advantageous to each. And while the English busily cultivated the peculiar arts of peace, the Scotch were brought, by a wise policy, from their mountains, the natural nursery of warriors, to fight the national battles of both.

From the epoch of the Union, the same salutary regulations promoted equally the prosperity and populousness of Great Britain. Among these Anderson\* has recorded the useful revival, in 1710, of the ancient assize of bread and ale [1266]; because "it was so necessary for our labourers and artificers, as well as for all other people." Whatever number of lives were lost during the wars of William and Anne, it seems certain, says that industrious compiler, "that the artificers of England did irreparable damage in the mean time to the French, by robbing them of many of their best manufactures, wherewith they had before supplied almost all Europe."

The foregoing details cast a just censure on the furious party-contests, during the last years of Queen Anne, in respect to the condition of our commerce; as if the prosperity, or the ruin of

\* Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 251.



manufactories and trade, were influenced by the continuance of statesmen in the possession of emolument, or in the expectation of power. The husbandman and the sailor only look for employment, the mechanic and the merchant only inquire for customers, without caring who are their rulers, since they seldom gain from the contests of the great, and certainly know, that they enjoy protection from the administration of justice, and from the operation of law.



## C H A P. VI.

*Foreign Disputes of George I.—The State of the Nation.—Observations.—The Progress of Commerce and Shipping.—Complaints of a Decline of Trade.—Industry and Traffic encouraged.—Remarks.*

**W**HILE George I. who ascended the throne, in 1714, was, in secret, little anxious about the enjoyment of his crown, amid the clash of domestic parties, he engaged successively in contests with almost every European power, because each, in its turn, had given protection to the Pretender to his rights.

But, the foreign disputes of this reign were short, as well as unexpensive. And they did not, therefore, call forth the whole force of the kingdom; which may be deduced in the following manner.

If the current of population continued its progress, as we have seen it did to the commencement of the present reign, the fighting men must necessarily have amounted, during the time of George I. to two millions and fifty thousand. And the effective wealth of the country, there is reason to think, had accumulated mean while in a still greater proportion; from preceding encouragements, and the augmentation of capitals.

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Owing to the encrease of circulation, which enables the opulent to convert so easily land into coin, or coin into land, and to the accumulation too of moveable property, the interest of money began to fall towards the end of King William's reign, when no great balance of trade flowed into the kingdom. And the natural interest continuing low, even amid the pressures of the subsequent war, the Parliament enacted, in 1713, that the legal interest should not rise higher than five *per cent.* after September 1714. Thus England, while she was yet embarrassed with the never-failing consequences of war, gained "that abatement of interest by law," which Sir Josiah Child rather too fondly insisted, during the preceding age, would produce so many benefits to his country: *The advance of the price of lands in the purchase; the improvement of the rent of farms; the employment of the poor; the multiplication of artificers; the increase of foreign trade; and the augmentation of the stocks of people.* The natural interest of money fell to three *per cent.* in the reign of George I. while the government seldom borrowed at more than four.

The practice of borrowing on behalf of the state had commenced with the pressures of King William's reign. This policy was continued, and extended, during the wars of Anne. But, in the time of her successor, the contract, between the government and the lenders, was not so much made, as in preceding times, for the re-payment

of the principal, as for an annuity instead of interest.

The nation had thus contracted a debt, before the 31st of December 1714, of - £.50,644,307;

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to pay the interest of which required, from the land and labour of this kingdom, yearly, - £.2,811,904.

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It ought to be remembered, however, that this debt was due by the nation in its collective capacity; but, that individual creditors had acquired a vast capital in it, of the more importance to them and the public; as, besides yielding an annual profit, it was equally commodious as coin, for all the uses of life; since it could be easily pledged, or transferred. And land-owners were thereby enabled to improve their estates, manufacturers to carry on their business, traders to extend our commerce, and every one to pay their taxes. If by this debt, and by this annuity, the state was somewhat embarrassed, the industrious classes derived, probably, some advantage, from the active motion, which was thereby given to the circulating value of all things. Yet, if the people received no positive benefit, they were at least enabled, by this facility, to sustain actual burdens with greater ease.

While taxes were, without rigour, collected from annual income, and not from productive capital,

pital, a financial operation was performed, in 1716, which gradually relieved the embarrassments of the state, and gave fresh vigour to *circulation*, that energetic principle of commercial times. All those taxes, which had from time to time been granted for the payment of various annuities, were at once made perpetual, and directed to be paid into three great funds. The interest of the public debts was reduced from six *per cent.* to five. And whatever surpluses might remain, after paying this liquidated interest, were ordered to be thrown into a fourth fund, which was thenceforth called *the sinking fund*, because it was designed to pay off the principal and interest of such debts as had been contracted before Christmas 1716.

So productive were the taxes, owing to the prosperity of the people, that these surpluses amounted, before the end of the reign of George I. to £.1,083,190\*. And these surpluses would have made the country still more prosperous, had the sinking fund been constantly applied, as it was thus originally designed; by keeping circulation full and overflowing, and thereby preventing what is commonly deplored as *a scarcity of money*.

Notwithstanding that salutary operation, and our manufactures and trade were at the same time greatly encouraged, the capital of the public debts amounted to nearly as much at the demise of

\* Exchequer account, in the History of Debts.

George I. as it had been at his accession, though the annuity, payable on them, was by those means somewhat reduced; as appears by the following statement: The principal of the national debt was, on the

31st of December 1714 -	£.53,681,076	the interest thereon	£.2,811,904.
D <sup>o</sup> on 31st Dec. 1727 -	52,092,235	Ditto	- 2,363,564.
<hr/>		<hr/>	
The intermediate dimi- nution	- - -	£.1,588,841	£.418,240
<hr/>		<hr/>	

We shall however gain a more adequate notion not only of the public revenue and burdens, but of the resources of the nation, from the following detail:

The nett excise, according to a me- dium of four years, ending at Mi- chaelmas 1726 (exclusive of the malt-tax)	- - -	£.1,927,354	
The nett annual customs	-	1,530,361	
Various and promiscuous internal taxes	-	666,459	
Total appropriated	-----	£.4,124,174	
The land-tax at 2s. in the pound is given for		£.1,000,000	
Malt - duty brings in £.680,000, but is gi- ven for	- - -	750,000	
Raised by lottery	- - -	750,000	
Total annual grants for current services	-----	2,500,000	
		<hr/>	<hr/>



Nett annual revenue	-	-	£.6,624,175
Charges of collection	-	-	600,000

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The gross sum raised yearly on  
the people - - - £.7,224,175

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The public expenditure was as follows:

Interest of a debt of £.50,793,555*, including the surplus of the civil list, which is £.3,678 <i>per annum</i> ,			£.2,240,985
The civil list	-	-	800,000
			<hr/> 3,040,985
Surplus of the sinking fund	-		1,083,190
The current services of the army, navy, &c.	-	-	2,500,000
The annual charges with current services	-	-	<hr/> 6,624,175
Salaries and other charges, at least			600,000
			<hr/> £.7,224,175

The value of the surplus products of the land and labour of England, after domestic consumption was fully supplied, amounted yearly, at the accession of George I. to £.8,008,068; which

\* But, according to James Postlethwayt's History of the Public Revenue, the national debt, on the 31st of December, 1726, was £.52,771,005; whereon was paid an annuity of £.2,562,217.

formed a much larger cargo than had ever been exported before. And from this circumstance we might infer, that there was now employed a greater capital in trade than, by means of its productive employment, had, in any prior age, promoted the wealth and greatness of Britain.

The English shipping, which exported that vast cargo, at the accession of George I. had then increased to - - - - - 444,843 tons;  
 which must have been navigated,  
 if we allow twelve mariners to  
 every two hundred tons, by - 26,691 men.

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The royal navy, which had been principally left by Queen Anne, carried in 1715 - - - - - 167,596 tons.

Wood stated \* the amount of the navy, in 1721, at - - - - - 158,233 tons:

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which, said he, is more than in 1688, by 57,201 tons;  
 and more than in 1660, by 95,639.

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Notwithstanding the boasts of Wood, and the glory acquired by defeating the Spanish fleet, in 1718, it is apparent, that the navy had lately sustained a diminution of - - - - - 9,363 tons.

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\* Survey of Trade, p. 55.

Having said thus much with regard to the strength of Britain, let us now examine the losses of our trade, from the petty wars of the present reign; which seem not indeed to have much interrupted the foreign commerce of the kingdom, while salutary regulations excited the domestic industry of the people.

Owing probably to a complication of causes, the traffic and navigation of England appear to have struggled with their oppressions, during this reign, but never to have risen much superior to the amount of both, in the year of the accession of George I. The following details offer sufficient proofs of the truth of this representation:

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes,
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	£.
1714	444,843	- 33,950	- 478,793	- 8,008,068
15	406,392	- 19,508	- 425,900	- 6,922,263
16	438,816	- 17,493	- 456,309	- 7,049,992
<hr/>				
1718	427,962	- 16,809	- 444,771	- 6,361,390
23	392,643	- 27,040	- 419,683	- 7,395,908
<hr/>				

We shall see however a progress, if we contrast the averages of our navigation and trade, at the beginning and at the end of George I's reign; and if we also recollect, that the business of 1726 and 1727 was somewhat interrupted by war, or by preparations for war,

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes. £.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	
1713 } 14 } 15 }	421,431	- 26,573	- 448,004	- 7,696,573
1726 } 27 } 28 }	432,832	- 23,651	- 456,483	- 7,891,739

During this progress there were, however, “a general complaint and concern of the nation, on the subject of a decline of trade\*.” Joshua Gee published, in 1729, his treatise, which, in order “to shew the wounds our commerce and manufactories had received, he put into the hands of the ministers, of the King, the Queen, and the Prince †.” When Erasmus Philips wrote his *State of the Nation*, in 1725 ‡, he found “some men so gloomy, that they thought us in a worse condition than we really are, and that it would be impossible to pay off the public debts; since all this pomp is nothing but false lustre; as we owe more than we are worth; as our money is diminished; and as we have little left but paper-credit.” Against this contemporaneous declamation, which shews that man, in every age, utters his lamentations in a similar tone, Philips stated, what experience has shewn to have been undoubtedly true, the *certain proofs* of the

\* Wood’s Survey.

† Gee’s Dedication.

‡ Preface to *The State of the Nation*; which, as well as *Wood’s Survey*, was dedicated to the King, according to the practice of the times,

*prosperity*

*prosperity and opulence of a country; great numbers of industrious people; a rich commonalty; money at low interest; and land at a great value.*

Nevertheless, there were assuredly events, during the reign of George I. which cast a gloom over the nation, and obstructed general prosperity. The persecutions of the great, on the accession of a new family, which were followed by the tumults of the mean, ought to give a lesson of moderation; since they were attended with no good consequences to the state. The subsequent rebellion of 1715 brought with it a twelvemonth of distraction, without leaving the terrors of example. And the war with Spain, in 1718, obstructed our Mediterranean commerce, as every war with that kingdom must continue to do, while Gibraltar, the great cause of hostilities, remains, and bids the Spaniards defiance. But, it was the infamous year 1720, which diverted all classes to projects and bubbles, that ought to be blotted from our annals, if they did not form remarkable beacons to direct our future course.

Of this reign it is the characteristic, that though in no period were there so many laws enacted, for promoting domestic and foreign trade, yet, at no time did both prosper less, during those days of captious peace, rather than avowed hostilities. The treaty of commerce with Spain, in 1715, must have inspired our traders with fresh vigour. The law which, in 1718, prohibited any British subject from carrying on traffic to the East under  
foreign



foreign commissions, turned their ardour upon more invigorating objects, by preventing productive capital from being sent abroad. The measure of allowing the exportation of *British-made linen, duty-free*, in 1717, gave us a manufacture, which is said, even then, to have employed many thousands of the poor. And the fisheries were encouraged by bounties, which must have multiplied the important race of our mariners.

The salutary laws, which were made for inciting domestic industry, were doubtless more efficacious in the subsequent reign, than they were felt, in any great degree, during the present. The manufactories of iron, of brass, and of copper, being considered as the third in extent, since they employed, *as it is said*, in 1719, two hundred and thirty thousand persons, were promoted with the attention, which was due to their importance. The continued encouragement, that had been given to the fabrics of silk, and the erection of the vast machine of Lomb, in 1719, had raised the annual value of this manufacture to £.700,000, in 1722, more, as it is stated, than it had yielded at the Revolution.

But, the year 1722 must always form an epoch, as memorable for a great operation in commercial policy, as the establishment of the sinking fund had been in finance, a few years before. The Parliament had indeed, in 1672, withdrawn the duties, which were then payable by *aliens*, on the exportation of *our own* manufactures. This salutary principle

principle was still more extended, in 1700, by removing the imposts on every kind of woollen goods, that should be thereafter sent abroad. It was however by the law *for the further encouragement of manufactures*, that every one was allowed to export *duty-free* all merchandizes, the produce of Great Britain, except only such articles, as should be deemed *materials* of manufacture; while drugs, and other goods used for dying, were equally permitted to be imported *duty-free*. And other facilities were at the same time given to trade, whilst the fisheries were promoted by bounties.

After enumerating all preceding measures of encouragement, Anderson\* remarks, in 1727, that nothing can more obviously demonstrate the amazing increase of England's commerce, in less than two centuries past, than the great growth of its manufacturing towns, such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and others; which are still increasing in wealth, people, business, and buildings. Yet, Lord Moleworth† complained, in 1721, "that we are not one-third peopled, and our stock of men daily decreases through our wars, plantations, and sea-voyages." His lordship was arguing, when he made this observation, for a *general naturalization*, a policy of very doubtful merit, because in all sudden change there

\* Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 314.

† Pref. to his translation of Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, 2d edit. p. 23—4.

is considerable inconvenience; and he may have therefore been biaſſed by his principle. If this nobleman intended to add his testimony to an apparent fact, that he ſaw no labourers to hire, his evidence would only prove, *that the industrious claſſes were fully employed*; and employment never fails to promote population. If his lordſhip only meant to give vent to his laudable anxieties for his country, this circumſtance would lead us to infer, that great as well as little minds are too apt to complain of the miſeries of the preſent.

When we *our betters* ſee bearing our woes,  
We ſcarcely think *our miſeries* our foes.

## C H A P. VII.

*The State of the Nation at the Accession of George II.—Remarks thereon.—The Increase of Trade and Shipping.—Complaints of their Decline.—Reflections.—Our Strength when War began in 1739.—Our Trade and Shipping during the War.—The Prosperity of both at the Restoration of Peace.—Complaints of Decline.—Remarks.*

**T**HE reign of George II. with whatever sinister events it opened, will be found to have promoted greatly, before its successful end, the industry and productive capital of the nation; and consequently, the efficient numbers of the people, by the means of augmented employments.

He found his kingdom burdened with a funded debt of rather more than fifty millions; which required annually, from the land and labour of the nation, taxes to the amount of two millions and upwards, to pay the creditor's annuity.

But, as his predecessor reduced, ten years before, the interest payable on the public debts, from six *per cent.* to five, the administration of the present King made a further reduction, with the consent of all parties, from five *per cent.* to four, in 1727. These measures, which the fortunate circumstances

of

of the times rendered easy and safe, not only strengthened public and private credit, but, by reducing the natural interest of money still more, must have thereby facilitated every operation of domestic manufactures, as well as every effort of foreign traffic. The fabrics of wool were at the same time freed from fraud. And the peace with Spain, in 1728, must have invigorated our exportations to the Mediterranean; the more, as a truce was then also made with Morocco.

Yet, party-rage ran so high, in 1729, says Anderson\*, that the friends of the minister found themselves obliged to prove by *facts*, what was before generally known to be true, that *Britain was then in a thriving condition*: the low interest of money, said they, demonstrates a greater plenty of cash than formerly; this abundance of money has raised the price of lands from twenty and twenty-one years purchase to twenty and twenty-five; an advance, which proves, that there were more persons able and ready to buy than formerly:—And the great sums, which were of late expended in the inclosing and improving of lands,

\* Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 322.—The cause of the above-mentioned *party-rage* is now sufficiently known. Sir Spencer Compton outwitted himself in the bargain for *place*, about Queen Caroline's jointure. Sir R. Walpole did not higggle with her Majesty about a hundred thousand pounds: and he was, in return, continued *the minister*. But, the prosperity of the people is no wise connected with the interested contests among *the great*.



and in opening mines, are proofs of an augmentation of opulence and people; while the increased value of our exports shews an increase of manufactures; at the same time that the greater number of shipping, which were cleared outwards, marks the wider extent of our navigation.

If we compare the averages of our vessels and cargoes, in the first years of the present reign, with those of the three years of peace, which preceded the war of 1739, we shall see all those truths in a still more pleasing light.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	£.
1726 } 27 } 28 }	432,832	- 23,651	- 456,483	- 7,918,406
1736 } 37 } 38 }	476,941	- 26,627	- 503,568	- 9,993,232

It was at this moment of unexampled prosperity, that the elder Lord Lyttelton wrote *Considerations on the present State of Affairs*, (1738). "In most parts of England," says he, "gentlemen's rents are so ill paid, and the weight of taxes lies so heavy upon them, that those, who have nothing from the Court, can scarce support their families.—Such is the state of our manufactures, such is that of our colonies; both should be enquired into, that the nation may know, whether the former can support themselves much longer under their various pressures." The editor of his lordship's works would have done no disservice

disservice to the memory of a worthy man, had he consigned this factious effusion to anonymous obscurity. Animated by a congenial spirit, Pope too wrote *Considerations on the State of Affairs*: in his two dialogues, entitled THIRTY-EIGHT, he represents, in most energetic language, and exquisite numbers, the nation *as totally ruined; as overwhelmed with corruption*:

“ See thronging millions to the Pagod run,  
And offer country, parent, wife, or ion !  
Hear her bleak trumpet through the land proclaim,  
That not to be corrupted is the shame.

It was about the same time also, that William Richardson composed his essay “ *On the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade.*” But, it is not easy to conceive, that any disquisition can be more depraved, than a treatise to explain *the causes of an effect, which did not exist.*

It was the evident purpose of some of those writers to drive the nation headlong into war, without thinking of any other consequences, than acquiring power, or gratifying spleen; and without caring how much a people, represented as unable to pay their rents, might be burthened with taxes; or a country, painted as feeble from dissipation, might be disgraced, or conquered.

If the nation had thus prospered in her affairs, and the people thus increased in their numbers, Great Britain must have contained, when she was

factionally forced into war with Spain, a greater number of fighting men than had ever fought her battles before. And she must have possessed a mass of productive capital, and a greatness of annual income, far superior to those of former years.

The course of circulation had filled, and even overflowed. The natural interest of money ran steadily at three *per cent.* The price of all the public securities had risen so much higher than they had been in any other period, that the three *per cent.* stocks sold at a premium on 'Change\*. And the annual surpluses of the standing taxes, as they were paid into the sinking-fund, amounted in 1738, to no less a sum than £.1,231,127.

Of this fund it has been very properly observed, that while it contributes to the liquidation of former debts, it still more facilitates the contracting of new ones. But, the great contest among the public creditors at that fortunate epoch, was not so much who should be paid his capital, as who should be suffered to remain the creditors of the state †. How much of the public debts had been paid, during the last ten years, and how much still remained as a burden on the state, will appear from the following detail :

\* Sir J. Barnard's speech for the reduction of interest.

† Id.

On the 31st Dec. 1728,

the principal was £.51,028,431;—the interest - £.2,137,785

Ditto - 1738 46,661,767:—Ditto - - - 1,962,053

The intermediate diminution - - - -

£.4,366,664

£.175,729

The value of the surplus produce of our land and labour, which were then exported; amounted yearly to £.9,993,232; and which might have been applied; when sent to foreign countries; as remittances for carrying on the war at the greatest distance. It is indeed an acknowledged fact; that during no effluxion of time was there ever such considerable balances paid to England, as there were transmitted; in the course of the war of 1739, on the general state of her payments.

The English shipping; which actually transported that vast cargo of £.9,993,232, amounted annually to 476,941 tons; which were navigated probably by 26,616 men, who might have been all engaged in the public service, either by influence, or force.

There had mean while been an equal progress in the augmentation of the royal navy; which carried

		Tons.
in 1727	— —	170,862
in 1741	— —	198,387
in 1749	— —	228,215 *

Thus much being premised, as to the state of our strength, we shall gain a sufficient knowledge of the condition of our navigation and commerce,

\* An admiralty-list, in the Paper-office, gives us the following detail of the King's ships in sea-pay, on the 19th July 1738.

	Ships.		
Stationed in the Plantations	- 24	carrying	5,045 men,
in the Mediterranean,	17	-	5,011
at Newfoundland,	3	-	690
Ordered home,	- 4	-	720
On the Irish coast,	- 6	-	550
At home,	- 41	-	9,602
	—	—	—
	95	-	23,618 mariners.

By preparations for a naval war, the foregoing list had been swelled, before March 1739, to 147 ships, carrying 38,849 men. But their numbers were defective, in 4,758 borne, and in 8,618 mutered.—From the same authority, we have the following abstract of the royal navy in June 1748; which, when compared with the list of 1738, gives us an idea sufficiently precise of *the fleet* of England, during the war of 1739.

It consisted of - - - 89 ships of the line.  
of - - - 153 frigates.

242; whose complement of  
men was 60,654.

during



during the war of 1739, by attending to the sub-joined detail of our mercantile shipping and cargoes :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	£.
1736 } 37 } 38 }	476,941	- 26,627	- 503,568	- 9,993,232
1739 } 40 } 41 }	384,191	- 87,260	- 471,451	- 8,870,499
1744	373,817	- 72,849	- 446,666	- 9,190,621
1747	394,571	- 101,671	- 496,242	- 9,775,340
1748	479,236	- 75,477	- 554,713	- 11,141,202

Thus the year 1744 marked the ultimate point of commercial depression, if we may judge from the tonnage ; and 1740, if we draw our inference from the value of exports : Yet, whether we argue from the one year, or from the other, we must conclude, that the interest of merchants was little injured, if it were not promoted, by this naval war.

But, we shall at once see how little our industrious classes had been oppressed by the war, at home, and with what elasticity the spring of foreign trade rebounded on the removal of warfare, by comparing the averages of our navigation and

commerce, during the peaceful years, before hostilities began, and after they ended :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	D° foreign.	Total.	
1736 } 37 } 38 }	476,941 - 26,627 - 503,568			£. 9,993,232
1749 } 50 } 51 }	609,798 - 51,386 - 661,184			12,599,112

During the foregoing fifty years of uncommon prosperity, as to our agriculture \* and manufacture, our navigation, and traffic, and credit, the incumbrances of the public, and the burdens of the people, equally continued to increase. The debt, which was left at the demise of Queen Anne, remained undiminished in its capital at the demise of George I. though the annuity payable on it had been lessened almost a million. The ten

\* It appears, by an account laid before the Parliament, that there had been exported in *five* years, from 1744 to 1748, corn from England to the amount of 3,768,444 quarters: which, at a medium of prices, was worth to this nation, £.8,007,948. Now, the average of the five years is 753,689 quarters yearly, of the value of £.1,601,589. The exportation of 1749 and 1750 rose still higher. "This is an immense sum," says the compiler of the Annual Register, [1772, p. 197] "to flow immediately from the produce of the earth, and the labour of the people; enriching our merchants, and increasing an invaluable breed of seamen." He might have added, with equal propriety, *enriching our yeomanry, and increasing the useful breed of labourers dependant on them.*

years of subsequent peace having made little alteration, the public debt amounted, on the 31st of December 1738, to	-	-	£.46,661,767
on the 31st of December 1749,			
to	-	-	* 74,221,686

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—whence we perceive, by an easy calculation, that an additional debt had been mean while incurred, of £.27,559,919, besides unfunded debts to a considerable amount. But, the nine years war of 1739 cost this nation upwards of sixty-four millions, without gaining any object; because no valuable object can be gained by the generality of wars, which, as they often commence without adequate cause, end usually without much deliberation. It is to be lamented, when hostilities cease, that the party, which forces the nation to begin them, without real provocation, is not compelled to pay the expence.

The current of wealth, which had flowed into the nation, during the obstructions of war, continued a still more rapid course, on the return of peace. The taxes produced abundantly, because an industrious people were able to consume liberally. And the surpluses of all the imposts, after paying the interest of debts, amounted to £. 1,274,172 †. The coffers of the rich began to

\* History of Debts, and J. Pofflethwayt's History of the Public Revenue.

† History of Debts from an Exchequer account.

overflow. Circulation became still more rapid. The interest of money, which had risen during the pressures of war to four *per cent.* fell to three, when the cessation of hostilities terminated the loans to government. The administration seized this prosperous moment to reduce, with the consent of the proprietors, the interest of almost fifty-eight million of debts from four *per cent.* to three and a half, during seven years, from 1750, and afterwards to three *per cent.* for ever. And by these prudent measures, the annuity payable to the creditors of the state was lessened, in the years 1750 and 1751, from £. 2,966,000 to £. 2,663,000\*.

It was at this fortunate epoch, that Lord Bolingbroke wrote *Some Considerations on the State of the Nation*; in which he represents *the public as on the verge of bankruptcy, and the people as ready to fall into confusion, from their distress and danger.* Little did that illustrious party-man know, at least little was he willing to own, how much both the public and the people had advanced, from the time when he had been driven from power, in all that can make a nation prosperous and great. Doddington at the same time—"saw the country in so dangerous a condition, and found himself so incapable to give it relief †,"—that he resigned a lucrative office from pure disinterestedness. And the second edition of Richardson's *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade*, was oppor-

\* J. Postlethwayt's *History of the Revenue*, p. 238.

† *Diary*, March 1749—50, &c.



tunely published, with additional arguments, in 1750, to evince to the world the *causes* of an *effect*, that did *not exist*.

State and wealth, the business, and the crowd,  
Seem, at this distance, but a darker cloud;  
And are to him who rightly things esteems,  
No other in *effect* than what it seems.

Notwithstanding all that apparent prosperity and augmentation of numbers, we ought to mention, as circumstances, which probably may have retarded the progress of population, the Spanish war of 1727, that was not, however, of long continuance. The settlement of Georgia, in 1733, carried off a few of the lowest orders, the idle, and the needy. The real hostilities, that began in 1739, were probably attended with much more baneful consequences. The rebellion of 1745 introduced a temporary disorder, though there were drawn from its confusions, measures the most salutary, in respect to industry, and population. "Let the country gentlemen," says Corbyn Morris, when speaking on the then mortality of London [March 1750-1] "be called forth and declare—Have they not continually felt, for many years past, an increasing want of husbandmen and day-labourers? Have the farmers throughout the kingdom no just complaints of the *excessive increasing prices of workmen*, and of the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number at any price?"

Now, admitting the truth of these pregnant affirmations, they may be shewn to have been altogether



gether consistent with facts, and with principles. Allowing his *many years* to reach to the demise of George I. it may be asserted, because it has been proved, that our agriculture had been so much improved, as not only to supply domestic wants, but even to furnish other nations with the means of subsistence; and that every branch of our manufactures had kept pace with the flourishing state of our husbandry. It is surely demonstrable, that it required a greater number of artificers to manufacture commodities of the value of £. 11,141,202, and to navigate 554,713 tons of shipping, in 1748, than to fabricate goods of the value of £. 7,951,772, and to navigate 456,483 tons of shipping, in 1728. But, great demand creates a scarcity of all things; which in the end procures an abundant supply. And, that *the excessive prices of workmen* did in fact produce a sufficient reinforcement of *workmen*, may be inferred from the numbers which, in no long period, were brought into action, by public and private encouragement.

We see in familiar life, that when money is expended upon works of uncommon magnitude, in any village, or parish, labourers are always collected, in proportion to the augmentation of employments. Experience shews, that the same increase of the industrious classes never fails to ensue in larger districts; in a town, a county, or a kingdom, when proportional sums are expended for labour. And it is in this manner, that manufactures and trade every where augment the numbers  
of

of mankind, by the active expenditure of productive capitals. He, then, who labours to evince, that the lower orders of men decrease in numbers, while agriculture, the arts (both useful and ornamental) with commerce, are advancing from inconsiderable beginnings, to unexampled greatness, is only diligent to prove, That *causes do NOT produce their effects* :

As women, who yet apprehend  
Some sudden *cause* of *causeless* fear,  
Although that seeming *cause* take end,  
A shaking through their limbs still find.

To those reasons of prosperity, that, having for years existed, had thus produced the most beneficial effects, prior to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, new encouragements were immediately added. The reduction of the interest of the national debts, by measures altogether consistent with justice and public faith, shewed not only the flourishing condition of the kingdom, but also tended to make it flourish still more. And there necessarily followed all those salutary consequences, in respect to domestic diligence, and foreign commerce, which, Sir Josiah Child had insisted a century before, would result from *the lowness of interest*.

An additional incitement was at the same time given to the whale-fishery, partly by the naturalization of skilful foreigners, but more by pecuniary bounties. The establishment of the corporation of *The Free British Fishery*, in 1750, must have promoted

moted population, by giving employment to the industrious classes, however unprofitable the project may have been to the undertakers, whose success was unhappily so unequal to their good intentions and unrecompensed expences. The voluntary society, which was entered into in 1754, *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, must have been attended with still more beneficial effects, by animating the spirit of experiment and perseverance. And the laws, which were successively enacted, and measures pursued, from 1732 to 1760, *for preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors*, must have promoted populousness, by preserving the health, and inciting the diligence, of the lower orders of the people.

Yet, these statutes, salutary as they must have been, did not promote the health and numbers of the people, in a more eminent degree, than the laws, which were passed, during the same period, for making more easy communications by the improvement of roads. We may judge of the necessity of these acts of legislation from the penalties annexed to them. Of the founderous condition of the roads of England, while they were amended by the compulsive labour of the poor, we may judge indeed from the wretched state of the ways which, in the present times, are kept in repair by the ancient mode. Turnpikes, which we saw first introduced, soon after the Restoration, were erected slowly, in opposition to the prejudices of the people. The act, which for a time made it felony, at the  
7 beginning

beginning of the reign of George II. to pull down a toll-gate, was continued as a perpetual law, before the conclusion of it. Yet, the great roads of England remained almost in their ancient condition, even as late as 1752 and 1754, when the traveller seldom saw a turnpike for two hundred miles, after leaving the vicinity of London\*. And we now know from experience how much the making of highways and bridges advances the population of any country, by extending correspondence, by facilitating communications, and, consequently, by promoting internal traffic, which was thereby rendered greater than our foreign; since *the best customers of Britain are the people of Britain.*

\* See the Gentleman's Magazine 1752—54.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*A captious Peace produced a new War.—The Resources of Britain.—Trade prospers amidst Hostilities.—Its Amount at the Peace of 1763.—Remarks.*

AFTER a captious peace of very short duration, the flames of war, which for several years had burnt unseen among the American woods, broke out at length in 1755. Unfortunate as these hostilities were at the beginning, they yet proved successful in the end, owing to causes, which it is the province of history to explain.

However fashionable it then was for discontented statesmen to talk \* of *the consuming condition of the country*, it might have been inferred beforehand, that we had prodigious resources, if the ruling powers had been animated by any genius. The defeats, which plainly followed from misconduct, naturally brought talents of every kind into action. And the events of the war of 1756 convinced the world, notwithstanding every *estimate of the manners and principles of the times*, that the strength of Great Britain is irresistible, when it is

\* See Doddington's Diary, 1755—6—7.



conducted with secrecy and dispatch, with wisdom and energy.

When Brackenridge was upbraided by Föster, for making public degrading accounts of our population, at the commencement of the war of 1755, he asked, justly enough, "*What encouragement can it give to the enemy to know, that we have two millions of fighting men in our British islands?*" But we had assuredly in our British islands a million more than Brackenridge unwillingly allowed.

The numbers and spirit of our people were amply supported by the augmented resources of the nation. The *natural* interest of money, which had been 3 *per cent.* at the beginning of this reign, never rose higher than £. 3. 13 s. 6 d. at the conclusion of it, after an expensive course of eight years hostilities. During the two first years of the war, the ministers borrowed money at 3 *per cent.* But, five millions being lent to the administration in 1757, the lenders required 4½ *per cent.* And from the former punctuality of government, and present ease, with which taxes were found to pay the stipulated interest, Great Britain commanded the money of Europe, when the pressures of war obliged France to stop the payment of interest on some of her funded debts.

Mean time the surpluses of the standing taxes of Great Britain amounted, at the commencement of the war, to one million three hundred thousand pounds, which, after the reduction of the interest of debts in 1757, swelled to one million six hundred

dred thousand pounds. And from this vast current of income, the more scanty streams, which slowly flowed from new imposts, were continually supplied, during the exigencies of war.

It is the expences, more than the slaughter, of modern hostilities, which debilitate every community. The whole supplies granted by Parliament, and raised upon the people, during the reign of George II. amounted \* to £. 183,976,624.

The supplies granted, during the five years of the war, before the decease of that prince, amounted to - - - - - £. 54,319,325

The supplies voted, during the three first years of his successor, amounted † to - - - 51,437,314

The principal expences of a war, which, having been undertaken to drive the French from North America, has proved unfortunate in the issue - - - £. 105,756,639

Yet, none of the taxes that had been established, in order to raise those vast sums, bore heavy on the industrious classes, if we except the additional excise of three shillings a barrel on beer ‡. And, whatever

\* Camp. Pol. Sur. vol. ii. p. 551.

† Id.

‡ That the consumption of the great body of the people was not lessened, in consequence of the war, we may certainly infer

whatever burdens may have been imposed, internal industry pursued its occupations, and the enterprise of our traders sent to every quarter of the globe, merchandizes to an extent, which were beyond all former example.

There were exported annually, during the first years of the war, surpluses of our land and labour, to the amount of £. 11,708,515\* ; which, being sent abroad from time to time, to different markets, as demand required, might have been all applied, (as some of them undoubtedly were) in paying the

infer from the official details, in the Appendix to The Observations on the State of the Nation :

The average of eight years nett produce of the			
duty on soap, &c. ending with 1754	-	-	£. 228,114
Ditto, - - ending with 1767	-	-	264,902
			<hr/>
Ditto on candles, - ending with 1754	-	-	£. 136,073
Ditto on ditto, - ending with 1767	-	-	155,716
			<hr/>
Ditto, on hides, - ending with 1754	-	-	£. 168,200
Ditto on ditto, - ending with 1767	-	-	189,216
			<hr/>

As no new duties had been laid on the before-mentioned necessaries of life, the augmentation of the revenue evinces an increase of consumption; consequently of comforts; and consequently of people. In confirmation, let it be considered too, that the *hereditary* and *temporary excise* produced, according to an eight years average, ending with 1754 - £. 525,317  
 Ditto, - - - ending with 1767 - 538,542

\* There were moreover exported from Scotland, according to an average of 1755—6—7, goods to the value of £. 663,401

fleets and armies; that made conquests in every quarter of the globe.

The English shipping; which, after exporting that vast cargo, might have been employed by government as transports; and certainly furnished the fleet with a hardy race, amounted to 609,798 tons; which must have been navi-

gated, if we allow twelve men to

every 200 tons burden, by - - 36,588 men.

We may determine, with regard to the progress and magnitude of the royal navy, from the following statement:

	Tonnage.	Sailors voted by Parliament.	Their Wages, &c.
In 1749 -	228,215	- 17,000	- £. 839,800
1754 -	226,246	- 10,000	- 494,000
1760 -	300,416	- 70,000	- 3,458,000

It is the boast of Britain, "that while other countries suffered innumerable calamities, during that long period of hostilities, this happy island escaped them all; and cultivated, unmolested, her manufactures, her fisheries, and her commerce, to an amount, which has been the wonder and envy of the world." This flattering picture of Doctor Campbell will, however, appear to be extremely like the original, from an examination of the subsequent details; which are more accurate in their notices, and still more just in their conclusions. Compare, then, the following averages of our navigation

vigation and traffic, during the subjoined years, both of peace and of war :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	
1749	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112
50				
51				
1755	451,254	73,456	524,711	11,708,515
56				
57				
1760	471,241	112,737	573,978	14,693,270
61	508,220	117,835	626,055	14,873,194
62	480,444	120,126	600,570	13,546,171

Thus, the year 1756 marked the lowest point of the depression of commerce; whence it gradually rose, till it had gained a superiority over the unexampled traffic of the tranquil years 1749-50-51, if we may judge from the value of exports; and almost to an equality, if we draw our inferences from the tonnage of shipping. The Spanish war of 1762 imposed an additional weight, and we have seen the consequent decline.

When, by the treaty of Paris, entire freedom was again restored to foreign commerce, the traders once more sent out adventures of a still greater amount to every quarter of the world, though the nation was supposed to be strained, by too great an exertion of her powers. The salutary effects of more extensive manufactures and a larger trade were instantly seen in the commercial superiority



of the three years following the pacification of 1763, over those ensuing the peace of 1748; though these have been celebrated justly as times of uncommon prosperity. We shall be fully convinced of this satisfactory truth, if we examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	£.
1749 } 50 } 51 }	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112
1758	389,842	116,002	505,844	12,618,335
1759	406,335	121,016	527,351	13,947,788
1764 } 65 } 66 }	639,872	68,136	708,008	14,925,950

The gross income of the Post-office, foreign and domestic, *which*, it is said, *can alone demonstrate the extent of our correspondence*, amounted,

In 1754, to	-	-	£. 210,663
In 1764, to	-	-	281,535*.

In the midst of that unexampled prosperity and accumulation of private wealth, Hume talked, in his history, of the *pernicious practice of borrowing on parliamentary security*; a practice, says he, the more likely to become *pernicious the more a nation advances in opulence and credit, and now threatens the*

\* The account of the Post-office revenue is stated, by the Annual Register 1773, much higher, mistakingly.

*very existence of the nation.* Even the grave Blackstone, who seems to have been infected by the declamations of the times, wrote of its being indisputably certain, in 1765, that the present magnitude of our national incumbrances very far exceeds all calculations of commercial benefits, and is productive of the greatest inconveniencies by the enormous taxes, that are raised upon the necessaries of life, for the payment of the interest of the debt; and those taxes weaken the internal strength of a state, by anticipating those resources, which should be reserved to defend it in case of necessity \*. Such sentiments, from such men, proceed partly from a narrow view of the subject, and perhaps more from well-meaning desires to do national good, by raising public apprehensions, with regard to the security of property, and the safety of the state.

To laugh, were want of goodness and of grace;  
And to be grave, exceeds all power of face.

\* Commentaries, vol. i. p. 328, 4th edit.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Commercial Failures, in 1763.—Opinions thereon.—The true State of the Nation.—Observations on the Peace of 1763.—Various Laws for promoting domestic Improvements.—Satisfactory Proofs of our Commercial Prosperity, at the Epoch of the Colonial Revolt.—Yet, were our Trade and Shipping popularly represented as much on the Decline.*

**I**T was at that fortunate epoch, that Great Britain, having carried conquest over the hostile powers of the earth, by her arms, saved Europe from bankruptcy, by the superiority of her opulence, and by the disinterestedness of her spirit. The failures, which happened at Berlin, at Hamburgh, and in Holland, during July 1763, communicated dismay and distrust to every commercial town on the European continent\*. Wealth, it is said, no longer procured credit, nor connection any more gained confidence: The merchants of Europe remained for some time in consternation, because every trader feared for himself, amidst the

\* See the despondent letter from the bankers of Hamburgh to the bankers of Amsterdam, dated the 4th of August 1763, in the Gentleman's Magazine of this year, p. 422.

ruins of the greatest houses. It was at this crisis, that the British traders shewed the greatness of their capitals, the extent of their credit, and their disregard of either loss, or gain, while the mercantile world seemed to pass away as a winter's cloud; They trusted correspondents, whose situations were extremely unstable, to a greater amount than they had ever ventured to do, in the most prosperous times: And they made vast remittances to those commercial cities, where the deepest distress was supposed to prevail, from the determination of the wealthiest bankers to suspend the payment of their own acceptances. At this crisis the Bank of England discounted bills of exchange to a great amount, while every bill was suspected, as being of doubtful responsibility. And the British government, with a wise policy, actuated and supported all\*.

On that proud day was published, however, "*An Alarm to the Stockholders.*" By another writer the nation was remembered of "*the decrease of the current coin, as a most dangerous circumstance.*" And by an author, still more considerable than either, we were instructed—"How the abilities of the country were stretched to their utmost extent, and beyond their natural tone, whilst trade

\* See Considerations on the Trade and Finances of the Kingdom. Yet, there were only, in England, 233 bankruptcies, during 1763, and 301, during 1764. Of bankruptcies, there were, in England, during 1773—562, and during 1793—1304.—Thus, it is by comparison, that we gain accurate knowledge.

suffered in proportion: For, the price both of labour and materials was enhanced by the number and weight of the new taxes, and by the extraordinary demand, which the ruin of the French navigation brought on Great Britain; whereby rival nations may be now enabled to under-sell us at foreign markets, and rival us in our own: That both public and private credit were at the same time oppressed by the rapid increase of the national debt, by the scarcity of money, and the high rate of interest, which aggravated every evil, and affected every money transaction."—Such is the melancholic picture, which was exhibited of our commercial situation, soon after the peace of 1763, by the hand of a master\*, who probably meant to sketch a caricature, rather than to draw a portrait.

If, however, the *resources* of Britain arise chiefly from the *labour* of Britain, it may be easily shewn, that there never existed in this island so many *industrious people* as after the return of peace, in 1763. It is not easy, indeed, to calculate the numbers, who die in the camp, or in battle, more than would otherwise perish from want, or from vice, in the city, or hamlet. It is some consolation, that the laborious classes are too wealthy to covet the pittance of the soldier, or too independent to court the dangers of the sailor. And though the forsaken lover, or the restless vagrant, may look for

\* Considerations on the Trade and Finances of the Kingdom, p. 3.



refuge in the army or the fleet, it may admit of some doubt, how far the giving of proper employment to both, may not have freed their parishes from disquietude and from crimes. There is, therefore, no room, to suppose, that any one left the anvil, or the loom, to follow *the idle trade of war*, during the hostilities of 1756, or that there were less private income and public circulation, after the re-establishment of peace, than at any prior epoch. For, it must undoubtedly have required a greater number of artificers to produce merchandizes for foreign exportation, after feeding and cloathing the in-

habitants, to the value of - - -	£.14,694,970 - in 1760,
than it did to fabricate the value of - -	12,599,112 - in 1750.
It must have demanded a still greater number of hands to work up goods for exportation of the value of -	16,512,404 - in 1764,
than it did to manufac- ture the value of -	14,873,191 - in 1761.

A greater number of sea-			
men must surely have			
been employed to na-		Tons of <i>national</i>	
avigate and repair	- -	shipping.	
		471,241	- in 1760,
than	- - - -	451,254	- in 1756,
And a still greater num-			
ber to man and repair	- -	651,402	- in 1765,
than	- - - -	609,798*	- in 1750.

Yet,

\* It is acknowledged, that Scotland furnished a greater number of recruits for the fleets and armies of Britain, during the war of 1756, than England, considering the smaller number of her fighting men. Yet, by this drain, the industrious classes seem not to have been in the least diminished. For of linen there were made for sale,

in 1758	- -	10,624,435 yards.
in 1760	- -	11,747,728

Of the augmentation of the whole products of Scotland during the war, we may judge from the following detail: The value of merchandizes exported from Scotland,

in 1756	- -	£. 663,401
60	- -	1,086,205
64	- -	1,243,927

There were exported yearly, of *British-manufactured* linens, according to an average of seven years of peace, from 1749 to 1755 - - - - - 576,373 yards.  
Ditto, according to an average of seven years of subsequent war, from 1756 to 1762 1,355,226

Having thus discovered, that the sword had not been put into *useful* hands, let us take a view of the great woollen manufactoryes

Yet, it must be confessed, that however *the people* individually may have been employed, *the state* corporately was embarrassed in no small degree, by the debts, which had been contracted by a war, glorious, but unprofitable. Upwards of fifty-eight millions had been added to our funded debts, before we began to negotiate for peace in 1762. When the unfunded debts were afterwards brought to account, and assigned an annual interest, from a specific fund, the whole debt, which was incurred, by the hostilities of 1756, swelled to £.72,111,000. And when every claim on the public, for the war's expences, was honestly satisfied, the national debt amounted to - £.146,682,844,

which yielded the creditors, to whom it was due, an annuity of - - - £.4,850,821.

Though it is the interest, and not the capital\*, that constitutes the real debt of *the state*, yet this annuity

factories of England, with an aspect to the same exhilarating subject. The value of *woollen goods* exported,

in 1755	-	-	£.3,575,297
57	-	-	4,758,095
58	-	-	4,673,462
59	-	-	5,352,299
60	-	-	<u>5,453,172</u>

\* Writers have been carried of late, by their zeal of patriotism, to demand the payment of the principal of the debt, though

annuity was, doubtless, a heavy incumbrance on the land and labour of this island: And however burdensome, it was not the only weight that obstructed, in whatever degree, the industrious classes, in adding accumulation to accumulation. The charge of the civil government was then calculated as an expence to the people of a million. And the peace establishment, for the army, navy, and mis-

though the interest be punctually paid; as if the nature of the contract between *the individual* and *the state* had stipulated for the payment of both. The fact is, that few lenders, since King William's days, have expected re-payment of *the capitals*, which they lent to the government. *The stocks*, as the public securities of the British nation are called, may be compared to the money transactions of the Bank of Amsterdam, as they have been explained by Sir James Stewart. No man who lodges *treasure* in this Bank, ever expects to see it again: But he may transfer *the Bank receipt* for it. The Directors of this Bank discovered from experience, that if the number of  *sellers* of those receipts should at any time be greater than the  *buyers* of them, the value of  *actual treasure safely lodged* would depreciate. And it is supposed, that these prudent managers employ brokers to buy up the Bank receipts, when they begin to fall in their value, from the superabundance of them on 'Change. Apply this rational explanation to the British funds. No creditor of a  *funded debt* can ask payment of the principal at the Treasury; but, he may dispose of his stock in  *the Alley*. The principles, which regulate demand and supply, are equally applicable to the British funds, as to  *the treasure* in the Amsterdam Bank. If there be more sellers than buyers, the price of stocks will fall: If there be more buyers than sellers they will as naturally rise. And the time is now come, when the British government ought to employ every pound, which can possibly be saved, in buying up the  *principal* of such public debts as pay the greatest interest.

cellaneous services of less amount, though of as much use, may be stated at three millions and a half, without entering into the controversy of that changeful day, whether it was a few pounds more, or a few pounds less. If it astonished Europe to see Great Britain borrow, in *one* year, *twelve millions*, and to find taxes to pay the interest of such a loan, amidst hostilities of unbounded expence, it might have given the European world still higher ideas of the resources of Britain, to see her satisfy every claim, and re-establish her financial affairs, in no long period after the conclusion of war.

But, the acquisitions of peace proved, unhappily, more embarrassing to the collective mass of an industrious nation, than the imposts, which were constantly collected, for paying the interest of debts, and the charges of government. The treaty of 1763 retained Canada, Louisiana, and Florida, on the American continent; the Grenades, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica, in the West Indies; and Senegal in Africa. Without regarding other objects, here was a wide field opened for the attention of interest, and for the operations of avarice. Every man, who had credit with the ministers at home, or influence over the governors in the colonies, ran for the prize of American territory. And many land-owners in Great Britain, of no small importance, neglected the possessions of their fathers, for a portion of wilderness beyond the Atlantic. This was the spirit, which formerly debilitated Spain, more than  
the



the Peruvian mines; because the Spaniards turned their affections from their country to the Indies. With a similar spirit, millions of productive capital were withdrawn from the agriculture, and manufactures, and trade of Great Britain, to cultivate the ceded islands, in the other hemisphere. Domestic occupations were obstructed consequently, and circulation was stopped, in proportion to the stocks withdrawn, to the industry enfeebled, and to the ardour turned to less salutary objects.

While the industrious classes of the people were thus individually injured in their affairs, the state suffered equally in its finances. The new acquisitions required the charge of civil governments, which was provided for in the annual supplies, but from taxes on the land and labour of this island. To defend those acquisitions, larger and more expensive military establishments became now necessary, though our conquests did not yield a penny in return\*. And an additional drain being thus opened for the circulating money, the opulent men, who generally lend to government, enhanced the price of a commodity, which was thus rendered more valuable, by the incessant demands of adventurers, who offered the usurious interest of the Indies†. The coins did not consequently overflow the coffers of the rich;

\* There were some small sums brought into the annual supplies from the sale of lands in the ceded islands.

† It was a wise policy, therefore, to encourage foreigners to lend money on the security of West India estates.

the price of the public funds did not rise, as at the former peace, when no such drain existed; and the government was unable to make bargains for the public, in 1764, equally advantageous, as at the less splendid epoch of 1750.

In these views of an interesting subject, the true objection to the peace of 1763 was not, that we had *retained too little*, but that we had *retained too much*. Had the French been altogether excluded from the fisheries of Labrador and Newfoundland, and wholly restored to every conquest, the peace had been perhaps more complete. Whether the ministers could have justified such a treaty, within the walls of Parliament, or without, is a consideration personal to them, and is an object, quite distinct in argument. Unhappy! that a British minister, to defend himself from clamour, must generally act against the genuine interest of his country.

Fortunate it is, however, for Britain, that there is a spirit in her industry, an increase in the accumulations of her industrious classes, and a prudence in the œconomy of her individual citizens, which have raised her to greatness, and sustain her power, notwithstanding the waste of wars, the blunders of treaties, and the tumults in peace. The people prospered at the commencement of the present reign. They prospered still more, when our colonies revolted. And this most energetic nation continues with augmented powers to prosper still, notwithstanding every obstruction.

If this marvellous prosperity arise, from the consciousness of every one, that *his person is free* and *his property safe*, owing to the steady operation of laws, and to the impartial administration of justice, one of the first acts of the present reign must be allowed to have given additional force to the salutary principle. A young Monarch, with an attachment to freedom, which merits the commendations, that posterity will not withhold, recommended from the throne to make the judges commissions less changeful, and their salaries more beneficial. The Parliament seconded the zeal of their Sovereign, in giving efficacy to a measure, which had an immediate tendency to secure every right of individuals, and to give ardour to all their pursuits. If we continue a brief review of the laws of the present reign, we shall probably find, that, whatever may have been neglected, much has been done, for promoting the prosperity, and populousness, of this island.

Agriculture ought to be the great object of our care, because it is the broad foundation of every other establishment. Yet, owing in some measure to the scarcity of seasons, but much to the clamour of the populace, we departed, at the end of the late reign, from the system which, being formed at the Revolution, is said to have then given verdure to our fields. During every session, from the demise of George II. a law was passed for allowing the importation of salt provisions from Ireland; for discontinuing the duties on tallow, butter,

ter, hogs-lard, and greafe from Ireland; till, in the progress of our liberality, we made those regulations perpetual, which were before only temporary. We prohibited the export of grain, while we admitted the importation of it; till, in 1773, we settled by a compromise, between the growers and consumers, a standard of prices, at which both should in future be free\*. If by the foregoing measures the markets were better supplied, the industrious classes must have been more abundantly fed: if prices were forced too low, the farmers, and with them husbandry, must have both equally suffered. A steady market is for the interest of all parties; and ought therefore to be the aim of the legislature. On this principle the Parliament seems to have acted, when, by repealing the laws against engrossers, it endeavoured, in 1772, to *give a free circulation to the trade in corn*. On the other hand, various laws were passed †, for preserving timber and underwood; for encouraging the culture of shrubs and trees, of roots and plants. And additional laws were passed for securing the property of the husbandman in the produce of his fields, and consequently for giving force to his diligence.

The dividing of commons, the inclosing of wastes, the draining of marshes, are all connected with agriculture. Not one law, for any of these

\* 10 Geo. III. ch. 39; 13 Geo. III. ch. 43.

† 6 Geo. III. ch. 36—48; 9 Geo. III. ch. 41.



valuable ends, was passed in the warlike reign of King William. During the hostilities of Queen Anne, eight laws indeed were enacted. In the reign of George I. seventeen laws were enacted for the same salutary purposes. In the three-and-thirty years of George II.'s reign, there were passed a hundred and eighty-two laws, with the same wise design. But, during the first fourteen sessions of the present reign, no fewer than seven hundred and two acts were obtained, for dividing of commons, inclosing of wastes, and draining of marshes. In this manner was more useful territory added to the empire, at the expence of individuals, than had been gained by every war since the Revolution. In acquiring distant dominions, through conquest, the state is enfeebled, by the charge of their establishments in peace, and by the still more enormous debts, incurred in war, for their defence. In gaining additional lands, by reclaiming the wild, improving the barren, and appropriating the common, you at once extend the limits of our island, and make its soil more productive. Yet, a certain class of writers have been studious to prove, that, by making the common fields more fruitful, the legislature has impoverished the poor\*.

Connected with agriculture too is the making of roads. The highways of Britain were not equal

\* On the contrary, Mr. Howlet, who cannot be too much praised for his researches, on the subject of population, has published a pamphlet, which proves satisfactorily, that *inclosures* promote the increase of the people.



in goodness to those of foreign countries, when the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded. From this epoch to the demise of George II. great exertions were certainly used to supply the inconvenient defect. The first fourteen sessions of the present reign are distinguished, not only for collecting the various road-laws into one act, but for enacting no fewer than four hundred and fifty-two acts for repairing the highways of different districts. If, by this employment of many hands, nothing was added to the extent of our country, every field, and every village, within it, were brought, by a more easy conveyance, nearer to each other.

In the same manner canals facilitate agriculture, and promote manufactures, by offering a mode of carriage at once cheaper and more certain. A very early attention had been paid to the navigation of our rivers: from *the Revolution* to the demise of George II. many streams had been made navigable. But, a still greater number have been rendered more commodious to commerce, in the present reign, exclusive of the yet more valuable improvement of canals. And, during the first fourteen sessions of this reign, nineteen acts were passed for making artificial navigations, including those stupendous works, the Bridgewater, the Trent, and the Forth, canals; which, by joining the Eastern and Western seas, and by connecting almost every manufacturing town with the capital, simulate the Roman labours.

In this period too, many of our harbours were enlarged, secured, and improved: many of our cities, including the metropolis of our empire and our trade, were paved, cleansed, and lighted. And, without including the bridges that have been built, and public edifices erected, the foregoing efforts for domestic improvement can, with no truth, or propriety, be deemed the works of an inactive age, or of a frivolous people.

If from agriculture we turn our attention to manufactures, we shall find many laws enacted for their encouragement, some with greater efficacy, and some with less. It was a wise policy to procure the *materials* of our manufactures at the cheapest rate. A tax was laid on foreign linens, in order to provide a fund, for raising hemp and flax at home; while bounties were given on these necessary articles from our colonies, the bounty on the exportation of hemp was withdrawn. The imposts on foreign linen yarn were withdrawn. Bounties were given on British linen cloth exported; while the making of cambricks was promoted, partly by prohibiting the foreign, and partly by giving fresh incentives, though without success, to the manufacture of cambricks within our island. Indigo, cochineal, and log-wood, the necessaries of dyers, were allowed to be freely imported. And the duty on oak-bark imported was lowered, in order to accommodate the tanners. It is to be lamented, that the state of the public debts does not admit the abolition of every tax on materials

of manufacture, of whatever country: this would be a measure so much wiser, than giving prohibitions against foreign manufactures, which never fail to bring with them the mischiefs of monopoly; a worse commodity, at a higher price.

Such moderation with thy *bounty* join,  
That thou may'st nothing give that is not thine.

The importation of silks and velvets of foreign countries was, however, prohibited, while the wages and combinations of silk-weavers were restrained, though the price of the goods was not regulated, in favour of the consumers. The workers in leather were equally favoured, by similar means. The plate-glass manufacture was encouraged, by erecting a corporation for carrying it on with greater energy. The making of utensils from gold and silver was favoured, by appointing wardens to detect every fraud. And the law, which had been made, during the penury of King William's days, for preventing innkeepers from using any other plate than silver spoons, was repealed in 1769, when we had made a very extensive progress in the acquisition of wealth, and in the taste for enjoying it.

—————Egypt with Assyria strove  
In wealth and *luxury*.—————

The most ancient staple of this island was, by prudent regulations in the fabricks of wool, sent to foreign markets, better in quality, and at a lower price.

General industry was excited by various means, which probably had their effect. Apprentices, and workers for hire, were placed under the jurisdiction of magistrates, who were empowered to enforce by correction the performance of contracts. Sobriety was at the same time preserved, by restraining the retail of spirituous liquors. But, above all, that law must have been attended with the most powerful effect, which was made "for the more effectual preventing of abuses by persons employed in the manufacture of hats, woollen, linen, fustian, cotton, iron, leather, fur, hemp, flax, mohair, and silk; for restraining unlawful combinations of every one working in such manufactures; and for the better payment of their wages." This law must be allowed to contain the most powerful incitements of the human heart; when we consider too, that the assize of bread was at the same time regulated.

If from a review of manufactures we inspect our shipping, we shall perceive regulations equally useful. The whale-fisheries of the river St. Lawrence and Greenland were encouraged by bounties, together with the white herring fishery along the coasts of our island. Foreigners were excluded, by additional penalties, from holding shares in British ships. And oak-timber was preserved, by new laws, for the use of the royal navy. The voyages of discovery, which do so much honour to the present reign, though they did not proceed from any act of the legislature, may be regarded



as highly beneficial to navigation, whether we consider the improvement of nautical science, or the preservation of the mariner's health.

But, all those encouragements had been given in vain, had not the course of circulation been kept full and current, and the coin timefully reformed. New modes were prescribed by Parliament for the recovery of small debts in particular districts. Additional remedies were administered for recovering payment on bills and other mercantile securities in Scotland. And the issuing of the notes of bankers was rendered more commodious and safe. The importation of the light silver coin of this realm was prohibited; and what was of more importance, every tender of British silver coin, in the payment of any sum more than five-and-twenty pounds, otherwise than by weight, at five shillings and two-pence per ounce, was declared unlawful. This admirable principle, so just in its theory, and so wise in its practice, was, about the same time, applied to the gold coin. And the gold coins were recalled, and re-coined to an unexpected amount, and ordered to pass current by weight, according to the ancient course, rather than by tale, in conformity to modern practice. This measure, which does equal honour to the contriver, to the adviser, and to the executor, has been attended with all the salutary effects, that were foretold, as to our domestic circulation, our foreign trade, and to our *money-exchanges* with the commercial world.



The laws, which were thus passed, from the accession of his present Majesty to the æra of the colonial revolt, had produced the most beneficial effects on our agriculture and manufactures, on our commerce and navigation, had not the energetic spirit, that actuated our affairs, at the peace of 1763, continued to animate the industrious classes, and to accumulate their daily acquisitions. If any one chooses to appeal from general reasonings to particular facts, let him examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes, £.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	
1764 } 65 } 66 }	639,872	- 68,136	- 708,008	- 14,925,959
1772 } 73 } 74 }	795,943	- 64,232	- 860,175	- 15,613,003

Thus, our navigation had gained, in the intervening period, more than a hundred and fifty thousand tons a year, and our foreign traffic had risen almost a million in annual worth. The gross revenue of the post-office, which, arising from a greater, or a less, correspondence, forms, according to Anderson, a *politico-commercial index*, amounted

in 1764	-	to	-	£. 281,535
in 1774*	-	to	-	<u>345,321.</u>

\* But, the franking of letters had been now regulated, and other improvements had been meantime made.

Yet, prosperous as our affairs had been, during the short existence of the peace of 1763, they were represented, by an analogous spirit to that of 1738, either of designing faction, or of uninformed folly, as in an *alarming situation*. The state of things, it was said, is approaching to an awful crisis. The *navigation* and *commerce*, by which we rose to power and opulence, *are much on the decline*. Our taxes are numerous and heavy, and provisions are dear. An enormous national debt threatens the ruin of public credit. Luxury has spread its baneful influence among all ranks of people; yet, luxury is necessary to raise a revenue to supply the exigencies of the state. Our labouring poor are forced by hard necessity to seek that comfortable subsistence in distant climes, which their industry at home cannot procure them. And the mother-country holds the rod over her children, the colonies, and, by her threatening aspect, is likely to drive them to desperate measures\*.

Th' *alarm-bell* rings from our Alhambra walls,  
And, from the streets, found drums and ataballs!

\* See Gent. Mag. 1774, p. 313, &c.

## C H A P. X.

*The Colonial Revolt.—The State of the Nation.—Her Finances, Trade, and Shipping.—Her military Power.—The Losses of Trade from the War.—The Revival of Trade on the Re-establishment of Peace.—Remarks thereon.—Financial Operations.—The Sinking Fund established.—Its salutary Policy.*

**W**HEN, owing to the native habits and acquired confidence of her colonies; to the ancient neglects, and continued indulgence of Britain; to the incitements of party-men, and to the imbecility of rulers; the nation found herself at length obliged to enter into a serious contest with her transatlantic provinces, she happily enjoyed all the advantages of a busy manufacture, of a vigorous commerce, of a most extensive navigation, and of a productive revenue. Of these animating truths we shall receive sufficient conviction, by examining the following particulars:

After liquidating every claim, subsequent to the peace of 1763, and funding every debt, by assigning an half-yearly interest for every principal, the public enjoyed an annual surplus from the public imposts of two millions two hundred thousand pounds,

pounds, in 1764. From 1765 to 1770, this sinking fund accumulated to £.2,266,246. And from 1770 to 1775, the surpluses of all our taxes amounted annually to the vast sum of £.2,651,455; which having risen, in 1775 and 1776, to three millions and upwards, proved a never-failing resource, amid the financial embarrassments of the ensuing war. These facts alone furnish the most satisfactory evidence of the great consumption of the collective mass of the people, and of their ability to consume, from their active labours and accumulating opulence.

Yet, during the prosperous period of the peace, there were only discharged of the capital of the national debt - - - - £.10,739,793.

And there remained, notwithstanding every diminution, when the war of the colonies began, in 1775, a national debt of - £.135,943,051;

Whereon was paid to the public creditors an annuity of - £.4,440,821\*.

The price of the stock of the Bank of England rose mean while from 113 *per cent.* in July 1764, to 143 *per cent.* in July 1774: and discounts on the bills of the navy fell from 6½ *per cent.* at the first epoch, to 1⅙ at the second. The reform of the coin turned the nominal exchanges on the side of Britain, which were in fact favourable before

\* Dr. Price, and Sir J. Sinclair.

hostilities began, owing to the flourishing state of our trade, and the advantageous course of our general payments. And the price of bullion fell, because the supply was superior to the demand. From the foregoing notices, an able statesman might have inferred beforehand, that Great Britain never possessed such resources for a vigorous war. And this truth may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, and without appealing to the immensity of subsequent supplies, for unanswerable proofs of *the fact*.

The surplus produce of the land and labour of England alone, which, being exported to foreign countries, might have been applied to the uses of war, amounted to £.15,613,003, according to an average of the years 1772—3—4\*.

The British shipping, which were chiefly employed in exporting this immense cargo, and which were easily converted into transports, to armed ships, and to privateers, amounted annually to 795,943 tons: and this extensive nursery furnished the royal navy with mariners of unequalled skill and bravery, during a naval war, in the last year of which, the Parliament voted a hundred and ten thousand seamen.

We may calculate from the continual progress in population, arising from additional employ-

\* There was moreover sent by sea from Scotland, at the same time, an annual cargo of the value of £. 1,515,025, if we may believe the Custom-house books.



ments, that there were in this island, at the epoch of the colonial revolt, full 2,350,000 fighting men.

By examining the following details, we shall acquire ideas sufficiently precise of the royal navy, both before and after the war of the colonies began:—

<i>The royal fleet</i> carried in 1754	—	226,246 tons.
in 1760	—	300,416
in 1774	—	<u>276,046.</u>

Of the king's ships, existing in 1774, several were found, on the day of trial, unfit for actual service. By an effort, however, which Britain alone could have made, there were added to the royal navy, during six years of war, from 1775 to 1781:—

	Vessels.	Guns.	Tons.
Of the line, with fifties,	44 carrying	3,002 and	56,144
Twenties to forty-fours,	110 —	3,331 —	53,350
Sloops - - -	160 —	2,555 —	<u>37,160</u>
	<u>314</u>	<u>8,888</u>	<u>146,654</u>

By a similar effort, during six years of the Revolution-war, England was only able to add to her naval force 11,368 tons. And thus was there a greater fleet fitted out, during the uncommon embarrassments of the colony-war, than King William, or Queen Anne, or even than King George I. perhaps ever possessed. Of these ships

we were unhappily deprived of several, either by the misfortunes incident to navigation, or by the good fortune of our enemies. Yet, we had in commission, in January 1783, the fleet, the power of which will be most clearly perceived from the following detail\*; when it is remembered, that there were voted for the service of this year a hundred and ten thousand seamen.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
20 of - 80 to 108	- carrying	15,372
44 of - - 74	- -	26,112
45 of - 60 to 68	- -	24,320
18 of - - 50	- -	5,468
64 Frigates above	30 - -	13,765
51 Ditto under	30 - -	8,581
110 Sloops of - 18, and under,	- -	11,360
15 Fireships and bombs.		
26 Armed ships, hired.		
<hr/>		
393 - Navigated by	- - -	104,978
<hr/>		

Such was the naval force of Great Britain, which, after a violent struggle, broke, in the end, the conjoined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland. The privateers of Liverpool, which have been already stated,

\* The above statement, though in a different form, was officially laid before the House of Commons, at the debate on *the peace*. Besides the ships in the list of the Navy-board, there were seventeen, from 60 to 98 guns, ready to be commissioned. Steel states, in his *Naval Chronology*, the force  
of

stated, alone formed a greater fleet than the armed colonies were ever able to equip. Owing to what fatality, or to what cause, it was, that the vast strength of Britain did not beat down the colonial insurgents, not in one campaign, but in three, it is the business of history to explain, with narrative elegance, and profound remark.

It is now time to enquire into the losses of our trade from the war of those colonies, which had been planted, and nursed, with a mother's care, for the exclusive benefit of our commerce.

If it was not much interrupted by the privateers of the malcontents, we lost whole mercantile fleets to our enemies. And it must be admitted, that in the course of no war, since that of the Revolution, were our shipping so much deranged, or of the fleets of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, at the end of the war, as under :

	Of the line.	Guns.
British ships - - -	145 carrying	10,132
Deduct those wanting repairs,	28	1,948
	<hr/>	<hr/>
British effective - - -	117	8,184
	<hr/>	<hr/>
French - - - - -	82	5,848
Spanish - - - - -	67	4,720
Dutch - - - - -	33	2,006
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	182	12,574
Deduct those wanting repairs,	49	2,928
	<hr/>	<hr/>
More than Great Britain -	16	1,462
	<hr/>	<hr/>

our traffic so far driven from its usual channels; But, we shall see the precise state of both, by attending to the following details :

	Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
		Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	£.
In the peaceful	{ 1772 73 74 }	795,943	- 64,232	- 860,175	- 15,613,003
American war	{ 1775 76 77 }	760,798	- 73,234	- 834,032	- 13,861,812
French war	- 1778	657,238	- 98,113	- 755,351	- 11,551,076
Spanish war	- 1779	590,911	- 139,124	- 730,035	- 12,693,430
	1780	619,462	- 134,515	- 753,977	- 11,622,333
Dutch war	1781	547,953	- 163,410	- 711,363	- 10,569,187
	1782	552,851	- 208,511	- 761,362	- 12,355,750

If we review this satisfactory evidence, we shall probably find, that there were annually employed, when the colony-war began, more than one hundred and fifty thousand tons of British shipping, than had been yearly employed during the prosperous years 1764—5—6; and that we annually exported of merchandizes, in the first-mentioned period more than in the last, little less than a million in value: That the colonial contest little affected our foreign commerce, if we may judge from the decreased state of our shipping\*; but, if we draw our inference from the diminished value of exported cargoes, we seem to have lost £. 1,751,190 a year; which formed, perhaps, the real amount of the usual export to the discontented provinces: And the inconsiderable decrease

\* There were entered inwards of ships belonging to the revolted colonies, 34,587 tons, according to an average of the years 1771—2—3—4.

in the numbers of our outward shipping, with the fall in the value of manufactures, whereof their cargoes consisted, justified a shrewd remark of Mr. Eden's, "that, in the latter period it may be doubted, whether the dexterity of exporters, which, in times of regular trade, occasions ostentatious entries, may not, in many instances, have operated to under-valuations." It was the alarm created by the interference of France, that first interrupted our general commerce, though our navigation and trade, in 1778, were still a good deal more, than the average of both, in 1755—6—7. The prosperity of our foreign traffic, during the war of 1756, at least from the year 1758, is a fact, in our commercial annals, which has excited the amazement of the world. Yet, let us fairly contrast both our shipping and our trade, great as they were assuredly, during the first period, and little as they have been supposed to be, during the last:

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.			
1758	- 389,842	- 116,002	- 505,844	- 12,618,335	
1778	- 657,238	- 98,113	- 755,351	- 11,551,070	
1759	- 406,335	- 121,016	- 527,351	- 13,947,788	
1779	- 590,911	- 139,124	- 730,035	- 12,693,430	
1760	- 471,241	- 102,737	- 573,978	- 14,639,970	
1780	- 619,462	- 134,515	- 753,977	- 11,622,333	
1761	- 508,220	- 117,835	- 626,055	- 14,873,191	
1781	- 547,953	- 163,410	- 711,363	- 10,569,187	
1762	- 480,444	- 120,126	- 600,570	- 13,545,171	
1782	- 552,851	- 208,511	- 761,362	- 12,355,750	

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What had occurred, from the interruptions of all our foregoing wars, equally occurred from the still greater embarrassments of the colony-war. Temporary defalcations were, in the same manner, said to be infallible symptoms of a fatal decline. In the course of former hostilities, we have seen our navigation and commerce pressed down to a certain point, whence both gradually rose, even before the return of peace removed the incumbent pressure. All this, an accurate eye may perceive, amid the commercial distresses of the last war. There was an evident tendency in our traffic to rise in 1779, till the Spanish war imposed an additional burden. There was a similar tendency in 1780, till the Dutch war added, in 1781, no inconsiderable weight. And the year 1781, accordingly, marks the lowest degree of depression, both of our navigation and our commerce, during the war of our colonies. But, with the same vigorous spirit, they both equally rose, in 1782, as they had risen in former wars, to a superiority over our navigation and commerce, during the year, wherein hostilities with France began.

We have beheld, too, on the return of complete peace, the spring of our traffic rebound with mighty force. A considerate eye may see this in 1783 and 1784, though the burdens of war were then removed with a much more tardy hand than in 1763 and 1764. Twenty years before, the preliminaries of peace were settled, in November 1762, and the definitive treaty with France and Spain

Spain was signed on the tenth of February thereafter: so that complete tranquillity was restored early in 1763. But, owing to the greater number and variety of belligerent powers, the last peace was fully established by much slower steps. The provisional articles were settled with the separated colonies in November 1782. The preliminaries with France and Spain were adjusted in January 1783. The definitive treaty with both, and with the United States of America, was signed on the third of September 1783. Though an armistice was agreed on with Holland, in February 1783, preliminaries were not settled till September thereafter, yet the definitive treaty was not signed till the twenty-fourth of May 1784. And with Tippoo Saib, who was no mean antagonist, peace was not concluded till March 1784. It was not however till July 1784, that we offered thanks to the Almighty, for restoring to a harassed, *though not an exhausted nation*, the greatest blessing, which the Almighty can bestow.

To those dates, and to this fact, we must carefully attend, in forming comparative estimates of our navigation and commerce, of the price of the public stocks, or of the progress of our financial operations. With these recollections constantly in our mind, we shall be able to make some accurate reflections, from the following details :

Epochs.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes £.
	Tons English.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	
1749 } 50 } 51 }	609,798 -	51,386 -	661,184 -	12,599,112
1764 } 65 } 66 }	639,872 -	68,136 -	708,008 -	14,925,950
1772 } 73 } 74 }	795,943 -	64,232 -	860,175 -	15,613,003
1783	795,669 -	157,969 -	953,638 -	13,851,671
84	846,355 -	113,064 -	959,419 -	14,171,375
85	951,855 -	103,398 -	1,055,253 -	15,762,593

If we examine the subjoined state of the Post-office revenue, we shall find supplemental proofs of increasing prosperity. The *gross* income of *the posts* amounted, in the year, ending

the 25 March 1755, to	- £. 210,663,
the 5 April 1765, to	- 281,535,
the 5 April 1775, to	- 345,321,
the 5 April 1784, to	- 420,101,
the 5 April 1785, to	- 463,753.

The foregoing statements will surely furnish every honest mind with comfortable thoughts. From those accurate details we perceive, with sufficient conviction, how superior both our navigation and our commerce were, in 1783 and 1784, when peace had scarcely returned, to the extent of both, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, an epoch of

of boasted prosperity. We employed in our traffic, in the year 1784, THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND TONS more than we employed, according to an average of 1749—50—51, *exclusive of the shipping of Scotland*, to no small amount. Of *British* ships, we happily employed, in 1784, TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND TONS, more than our navigation employed in 1764, though the vessels of our revolted colonies, amounting yearly to 35,000 tons, had been justly excluded from our traffic, in the last period, but not in the first: The value of exported cargoes from *England* was, at both epochs, nearly equal; though 1784 can scarcely be called a complete year of peace, and every industrious people had been admitted within the circle of a commerce, which we had almost ruined *the state*, to make exclusively ours. The value of our exportations, in 1784, was not indeed equal to the amount of our exports in 1764, but they were superior to the value of exported cargoes in 1766, 1767, and 1769\*. If we compare 1784, when we had hardly recovered from a war, avowedly carried on against commerce, with 1774, when we had enjoyed uncommon prosperity during several years of peace, we shall see no cause of apprehension, but many reasons of hope; the number of British ships was much inferior, in 1774, than they were in 1784, after we had wisely excluded the American vessels from the protection of the British flag, of which

\* See the Chronological Table for a proof of *the fact*.



the revolted colonists had shewn themselves unworthy. The value of cargoes, which were exported at both the periods, are so nearly equal, as not to merit much consideration, far less to excite our fears.

Yet the government was about the same time assuredly told\*, that unless the American shipping were allowed to be our carriers, our traffic must stop for want of transports: And the nation, for years, had been factiously informed, that the independence of the malecontent colonies must prove, at once, the destruction of our commerce, and the downfall of our power.

It was the prevalence of this sentiment, that chiefly generated the colony-war, which was so productive of many evils, and which, like the other evils of life, have brought with them a happy portion of good. Yet, the fallacy of this sentiment had been previously shewn, from the deductions of reason, and the effects of the absolute independence of our transatlantic provinces, had been clearly foretold, from the experience of the past. Time has at length decided *the fact*. For, by comparing the exports to the *discontented colonies*, before the war began, with the exports to *the United States*, after the admission of their independence, it will appear, from the following detail, that we now

\* By the Committee of West India Merchants, in 1783.



supply them with manufactures to a greater amount, than even in the most prosperous times: Thus,

	Exports.	Imports.
	£.	£.
In 1771 } — 3,064,843 —		1,322,532;
72 } —		
73 } —		
In 1784 — 3,397,500* —		749,329,

Yet, the exportations of the years 1771—2—3 were beyond example great, because the colonists were even then preparing for subsequent events, and the exporters were induced to make their entries at the custom-house, partly by their vanity, perhaps as much by their factiousness. We may reasonably hope then, to hear no more of our having lost the American commerce, by the independence of the United States. From the epoch, that we have met industrious competitors in their ports, we have had too much reason to complain of having rather traded too much with a people, who affect to be great traders, without having great capitals.

Connected with the American trade is the Newfoundland fishery. Of this Doctor Price asserted, in his usual style of depreciation and despondence, that *we seem to have totally lost it*. The subjoined detail, by establishing some authentic facts, will give rise, however, to more animating conclusions.

\* From the Custom-house books.

Contrast the Newfoundland fishery, as it was annually stated, subsequent to the peace of 1763, by Admiral Palliser, and as it was equally represented, after the peace of 1783, by Admiral Campbell:

COMPARATIVE STATE of the NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY.

	In 1764 - 1784		1765 - 1785	
There were British <i>fishing</i> ships -	141	236	177	292
British <i>trading</i> ships -	57	60	116	85
Colony ships - - -	205	50	104	53
Tonnage of British <i>fishing</i> ships -	14,819	22,535	17,258	26,528
of British <i>trading</i> ships -	11,924	6,297	14,353	9,202
of Colony ships - - -	13,837	4,202	6,927	6,260
Quintals of fish carried to foreign markets - - - - -	470,188	497,884	493,654	591,276

Thus, by excluding the fishers of the revolted colonies, we enjoy at present a more extensive fishery for the mariners of Great Britain, who, being subject to our influence, or our power, may easily be brought into action, when their efficacious aid becomes the most necessary, during war. From those colonies, a hundred and fifteen sloops and schooners used annually to bring cargoes of rum, melasses, bread, flour, and other provisions, to Newfoundland, for which the colonists were paid in bills of exchange on Britain\*. To acquire this traffic for British merchants, is alone a considerable advantage, which we derive from the independence of the United States. About twelve hundred

\* Admiral Palliser's official report.

failors were accustomed to emigrate, every season, from Newfoundland to the separated colonies; where, whatever they might gain, their usefulness to Britain was lost. This drain, which is now shut up, is perhaps a still greater benefit.

Our Greenland fishery, which gives employment to so many useful people, both by land and sea, has been equally promoted by the absolute independence of the United States; as their oil and other marine productions no longer enter into competition with our own. Thus, there failed to the Greenland seas:

	Years.	Ships.		Years.	Ships.
From England in	1772	- 50	— in	1782	- 38
	1773	- 55	—	1783	- 47
	1774	- 65	—	1784	- 89
	1775	- 96	—	1785	- 140
From Scotland	-	-	—	1785	- 13

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From this accurate detail we perceive, then, how much this important fishery, which had been heretofore depressed by various competitors \*, flourishes, at present, while we have additionally

\* The British fishery to Greenland has gained a manifest superiority over that of the Dutch, which was once so considerable. In 1781 and 1782 the Dutch sent no ships to the Greenland seas:

And in 1783 only 55 ships.  
 in 1784 - 59  
 in 1785 - 65

acquired

acquired the whale fishery to the Southern Seas.

Yet, the malecontent colonists, who had long been the active competitors of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, were accustomed to think, that this island could not exist without the gains of their commerce. Foreign powers equally thought, that they could ruin the affairs of Great Britain, by contributing to *their* independence. And to this source alone may be traced up one of the chief causes of the colony-war, and of the interference of foreigners. But, were we to search the annals of mankind, we should not find an example of hostilities, which being commenced in opposition to the genuine interest of the belligerent parties, were continued for years in contradiction to common sense.

The leaders of the malecontents seem at length disposed to admit, that being hurried on by passion, they sacrificed their commerce and their happiness to factious prejudices and to unmeaning words. Had they been sufficiently acquainted with their own interests, and governed by any prudence, they might, before the war began, have retained a participation in British privileges, and the protection of British power, by verbally admitting, that they were the fellow-subjects of the British people, without being really incumbered with any burden. And they might have thereby gained the present independence of Ireland, with the invaluable participations of Ireland; which, to estimate justly, we  
ought



ought only to suppose retracted for a season, or even lost for a day.

It is, indeed, fortunate for us, that the French were so much blinded, by the splendour of giving independence to the British colonies, as not to see distinctly how much their interposition and their aid promoted the real advantage of Great Britain. When the colony-war began, the true interest of France consisted in protracting the entanglements, which necessarily resulted from the virtual dependence of thirteen distant communities, claiming separate and sovereign rights; and which had continued to enfeeble the British government by their pretensions, their clamours, and their opposition, till the dissatisfied provincials had, in the fulness of time, separated themselves, without any effort on their part, or any struggle on the side of Great Britain. From these embarrassments the French have however freed, by their impolicy, the rival nation. And they have even conferred on the people, whom they wished to depress, actual strength, by restoring, unconsciously, the ship-building, the freights, and the fisheries; of which the colonists had too much partaken, and which, with other facilities, have resulted to the mother-country from the absolute independence of the American states.

Spain, perhaps, as little attended to her genuine interests, when she lent her aid to the associated powers, which enabled the revolted colonies to take their free and equal station among the sovereign



reign nations of the earth. She might have trusted to the hopes and fears of a British Minister, for the security of her transatlantic empire. But, within the American States, where can she place her trust? The citizens of these states have already, with their usual enterprize, penetrated to the banks of the Mississippi. And this active people even now bound on Louisiana and Mexico; and may even now, by intrigue, or force, shake the fidelity, or acquire the opulence, of those extensive territories.

When the Dutch, by departing from their usual caution, interposed in the quarrel, every intelligent European perceived, that the discontented colonies must necessarily be independent. And it was equally apparent, that every advantage of their traffic must have soon been acquired, by the more industrious nations, without the risk of unneighbourly interference, and still more, without the charge of actual hostilities.

When all parties became at length weary of a war, which had thus been carried on contrary to their genuine interests, a peace was made. Whatever advantages of commerce, or of revenue, may have resulted from this memorable event to the other belligerent powers, certain it is, that though Great Britain contracted vast debts, and lost many lives in the contest, she derived from the independence of the American States many benefits, exclusive of domestic quiet, the greatest of all benefits.

Had

Had Great Britain, like Spain, received any public revenue from her transatlantic territories, she had doubtless lost this income by the independence of her Colonies. If Great Britain has thereby lost sovereignty, without jurisdiction, she has freed herself from the charges of protecting an extensive coast, without deducting any thing from her naval strength; since the colony sailors were protected by positive statute\* from being forced into the public service. While this nation has saved the annual expence of great military and civil establishments, it can hardly be said to have lost any commercial profits. And, by excluding the citizens of the United States from their accustomed participation in the gainful business of ship-building, freights, and fishery, Great Britain has, in fact, made considerable additions to her naval power. Thus, the means, which were used to enfeeble this country, have actually augmented its strength, whatever may have been the fate of the other belligerent parties.

It must be admitted, however, that the British government contracted immense debts, by carrying on the late most expensive war. When these were brought to account, in October 1783, the whole debts, payable at the Exchequer, amounted to £. 212,302,429, capital; whereon were paid

\* The 6th Anne, which had conferred the above-mentioned exemption, was indeed repealed at the commencement of the war, by the 15 Geo. III. ch. 31. § 19.

£. 8,012,061\*, as interest and charges of management. For the payment of this annuity, the legislature had provided funds, which, it must be allowed, did not produce a revenue equal to previous expectation, or to subsequent necessity. And, burdensome as these debts undoubtedly were, they had little embarrassed general circulation, had this principal and this annuity formed the only claims on the public, which had arisen from the colony-war.

But, every war leaves many unliquidated claims, which are the more distressful to individuals and the state, as these unfunded debts float in the stock-market at great discount; as they depreciate the value of all public securities; and as, from these circumstances, they obstruct the financial operations of government, and prevent private persons from borrowing for the most useful purposes of productive industry. Of such unfunded debts, there floated in the market, in October 1783, no less than £. 18,856,542; of which £. 15,694,112 were so far liquidated as to carry an interest, that continually augmented the capitals, exclusive of other claims, which were equally cogent, but of less amount.

The public securities, which always rise in value on the return of peace, gradually fell, when those vast debts were exposed to the world in exagger-

\* The Exchequer account, as published by the commissioners of public accounts.

rated figures; when the stockholders were terrified by declamations on the defects of their security, which is, in fact, equal to the stability of the British State; and when all claimants on the public were daily assured of a truth, which had then too much existence, that the annual income of the public was not equal to the annual expenditure. The late Earl of Stair was the writer, who most industriously laid such considerations before the world. "If the premises are just," said he, "or nearly just, and nothing effectual is done to prevent their consequences, the inevitable conclusion is, that *the State is a bankrupt*, and those, who have entrusted their all to the public faith, are in imminent danger of becoming (I die pronouncing it) *beggars* \*."

———The wasp the hive *alarms*

With louder hums and with unequal arms.

The nation was mortified, at the same time, by the events of a war, the mismanagements, and expences, of which had made peace absolutely necessary. And the government was at once enfeebled, by distractions, and unhinged, by the competitions of the great for pre-eminence and power.

It was at this crisis of unusual difficulty, that the present minister was called into office, nearly

\* An argument to prove, that it is the indispensable duty of the creditors of the public, to insist that Government do forthwith bring forward the Consideration of the State of the Nation. By John, Earl of Stair, 1783.



as much by the suffrages of his country, as by the appointment of his sovereign.

Were we to institute a comparison of the state of the nation, in 1764 and 1765, with the financial operations in 1784 and 1785, we should be enabled to form a proper judgment, not only of the incumbrances, and resources, of the British government, but of the measures, which were at both periods adopted, for discharging our debts, by applying our means.

The war of 1756 augmented the public debt

	£. 72,111,004;
of 1775 - - -	110,279,341.
	<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/>

In 1764, the *unfunded* debts, including German claims, navy and ordnance debt, army extraordinary, deficiencies of grants and funds, exchequer bills, and a few smaller articles, amounted to - - - - - £. 9,975,018;

In 1784, the *unfunded* debts, including every article of the same kind, amounted to - - - - - 24,585,157.

The navy bills sold, in 1764, at  $9\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. discount; in 1784, at 20 per cent. The value of 3 per cent. consolidated stocks, from which the most accurate judgment of all stocks may be formed, was in 1764 at 86 per cent.; but, in 1784, the value may be calculated at 54 per cent. In the first period, our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce



commerce and navigation, were said to be in the most prosperous condition; in the last, to be almost undone.

With the foregoing data before us, we shall be able, without any minute calculations, or tedious inquiry, to form an adequate judgment of the resources of the nation, and of the conduct of ministers, in applying these resources to the public service, at the conclusion of our two last wars.

In 1764—65, there were paid off and provided for*	- - - - -	£. 6,192,159;
In 1784—85	- - - - -	† 28,139,448.

There remained unprovided for

	in 1765, —	in 1785.
German claims	£. 156,044 —	£.
Navy debt	- - 2,426,915 —	
Exchequer bills	- 1,800,000 —	4,500,000
	<u>£. 4,382,959*</u> —	<u>£. 4,500,000</u>

\* Confid. on Trade and Finances, p. 41.

† The following are the particulars, from the annual grants and appropriation acts:

Debts funded in 1784,	- - - - -	£. 6,879,342.
Debts paid off and otherwise provided for, in 1784	- - - - -	5,728,615.
Debts funded, in 1785,	- - - - -	10,990,651.
Debts paid off, and otherwise provided for, in 1785,	- - - - -	4,540,840.
Total of debts paid off, funded, and otherwise provided for, in 1784—85	- - - - -	<u>£. 28,139,448.</u>

But, let us carry this comparison one step farther. There were paid off and provided for (as we have seen) in 1764 and 1765, of *unfunded* debts - - - - - £. 6,192,159.

There were afterwards paid off be-

fore 1776 - - - - - 10,739,793.

Total paid off in eleven years - £.16,931,952.

There were paid off and provided

for in two years, 1784—85 - 28,139,448.

Yet, from this last sum must be deducted the £.4,500,000 of Exchequer bills, which, being continued at the end of 1785, were either circulated by the Bank, or were, in the course of public business, locked up in the Exchequer. Those bills indeed, that passed into circulation, were of real use to the Bank, and to individuals, without depreciating funded property, as they continually passed from hand to hand at a premium.

There was no purpose, when the foregoing comparisons were instituted, of exalting the character of the present minister for wisdom and energy, by the degradation of any of his predecessors, for inanity of purpose, and inefficiency of performance. The able men, who managed the national finances from 1763 to 1776, acted like all former statesmen, from the circumstances, wherein they were placed, and probably made as great exertions, in discharging the national debts, as the spirit of the times admitted.

admitted. Greater efforts have, since the last peace, been made, because every wise man declared, that there was no other effectual mode of securing all that the nation holds dear, than by making the public income larger than the public expenditure. The before-mentioned operations of finance, in 1784 and 85, it had been impossible to perform, without imposing many taxes, which all parties demanded as necessary. Were any defence required for a conduct, which, if the faithful discharge of duty, at no small risk of personal credit, be laudable; merits the greatest praise, the previous necessity would furnish ample justification.

What had occurred at the conclusion of every war, since the Revolution, happened in a still greater degree, since the re-establishment of the last peace. Let us make haste to lighten the public debts, which so much enfeeble the state, and embarrass individuals, was the universal cry. It was the judgment of the wisest men, that, considering the magnitude of the national incumbrances, these debts could neither be paid off, nor greatly lessened, except by a sinking-fund, which should be invariably applied to this most useful purpose. And, great as the national debts were, amounting to £. 239,154,880 principal; which, for interest and charges of management, required an annuity of £. 9,275,769; after all the financial operations of 1784 and 85, a sinking-fund of a million was said to be fully sufficient; if thus sacredly

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applied;

applied; as the productive powers of money at compound interest are almost beyond calculation.

Animated by such representations, and urged by sense of duty, the minister, though struggling with the embarrassing effects of a tedious and unsuccessful war, which, in the judgment of very experienced men, had almost exhausted every national resource, has established a sinking-fund of a million. Whatever might have been the universal wish, no one, at the re-establishment of the peace, had any reasonable expectation, that so large a sinking-fund would be thus early settled by act of parliament, on principles, which at once promote the interest of the public, by diminishing the national debt, and forward the advantage of individuals, by creating a rapid circulation.

Of other sinking-funds, it has been remarked, that they did not arise so much from the surpluses of taxes, after paying the annuity, which they had been established to pay, as from a reduction of the stipulated interest. The sinking-funds, that had been established in Holland during 1655, and at Rome in 1685, were thus created. The well-known sinking-fund, which had its commencement here, in 1716, was equally created by the reduction of interest on many stocks. And hence has been inferred the insufficiency of such funds. But, the foundation of Mr. Pitt's sinking-fund is firmly laid on a clear surplus of a permanent revenue, made good by new taxes, and on the constant appropriation of  
such

such annuities as will revert to the public from the effluxion of years.

The sufficiency and sacredness of this fund may be however inferred, not so much from any artificial reasoning, as from the nature of the trusts, and from the spirit of the people, which ever guards with anxiety what has been dedicated to their constant security, and future glory. The sinking-fund of 1716 was left to the management of ministers, who found an interest in misapplying it. Mr. Pitt's sinking-fund has been entrusted to six commissioners, holding offices, which are no way connected with each other, and to the possessors of which the people look for fidelity, knowledge, and responsibility. From such trustees no misapplication, or jobbing, can reasonably be apprehended. Eight years have now elapsed, since the establishment of their authority, and neither jobbing, nor mismanagement, has been suspected by malice, or faction. Add to this, that the commissioners, being required by law to lay out the appropriated money in a specified manner, and to give an annual account of their transactions to Parliament, act under the eye of a jealous world, and under the censure of an independent press, which, in a free country, has an efficacy beyond the penalties of the legislature.

But, the act itself, which creates this fund, and makes those provisions, may be repealed, it is feared, by the rapacity of future ministers, or by



the distress of subsequent wars. Against this objection experience has also given its decision.

It is however no small security of the present sinking-fund, that the impolicy of misapplying the former is admitted with universal conviction and regret. Under this public opinion, no minister, whatever his principles, or his power, may be, will ever attempt the repeal of a law, which, in fact, contains a virtual contract with the public creditors, and on the existence of which the public credit must in future depend: For the repeal of this act, and the seizure of this fund, during the pressures of any war, would be a manifest breach of this contract; and would amount to a bankruptcy, because it would be a declaration to the world, that the nation could no longer comply with her most sacred engagements. And what evil is to be feared, or good expected, from any war, which ought to stand in competition with the evils of bankruptcy, or the good that must necessarily result from the invariable application of such a fund? A million, thus applied, will assuredly free the public from vast debts, and, in no long period, yield a great public revenue: It is demonstrable, that a sinking-fund of a million, with the aid of such annuities as must meanwhile fall in, will set free *four millions* annually, at the end of twenty-seven years: It has been demonstrated by ingenious calculators, that the invariable application of a million to the annual payment of debts,

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would,

would, in sixty years, discharge £. 317,000,000 of 3 *per cent.* annuities, the price being at 75 *per cent.* In eight years, Mr. Pitt's sinking-fund has, in fact, purchased £. 13,617,895 of stock, at the expence of £. 10,599,265 of cash. This measure, then, is of more importance to Great Britain than the acquisition of the American mines. And, this measure, thus sacred in its principles, and salutary in its effects, will not probably be soon repealed by the influence of any minister, because all orders in the state are pledged to support it, while the property of every man in the community is bound for payment of the national debt.

Without inquiring minutely, whether a surplus of £. 900,000 appeared in the exchequer on any given day, it is sufficiently apparent, that all the purposes of this measure of finance will be amply answered, by the punctual payment of £. 250,000 in every quarter to the trustees, as the law requires; because the Parliament are engaged by the act to make good the deficiency, if the surplus of the sinking-fund should in any year amount to less than a million. The fact is, that £. 250,000 have been punctually applied every quarter, since it began to operate, on the 1st of August 1786. Additional sums have meantime been thrown into the sinking-fund, for giving a quicker pace to its powerful operations. And, by these means, has it produced, at the end of eight years, much greater effects than some calculators originally conceived, from

taking narrow views of a most extensive prospect\*.

Little fluctuation in the funds will be created by sending into the Stock Exchange a certain sum, on certain days, during every quarter. It is the great rise, and the proportional fall, in the value of the stocks, which enable jobbers to gain fortunes. And, of consequence, the commissioners will hardly

\* Earl Stanhope was the calculator, who urged every objection against this sinking-fund with the most ingenuity and force; having a plan of his own to propose. His lordship formed a calculation, in order to show the effect of a surplus of £. 1,000,000 a year, with such long annuities as might fall in: The following detail will show the amount of his calculation, and the sum total of the fact, from experience, of stock actually bought, at the end of every year.

Eight Years.	Earl Stanhope's Calculations.	Eight Years.	The fact, from experience.
	£.		£.
5th April 1787	1,000,000	4th Quarter.	1,343,100
D° - 1788	2,065,351	8th D° -	2,874,150
D° - 1789	3,173,316	12th D° -	4,447,150
D° - 1790	4,325,599	16th D° -	5,997,900
D° - 1791	5,527,230	20th D° -	7,568,875
D° - 1792	6,792,613	24th D° -	9,441,850
D° - 1793	8,145,898	28th D° -	11,196,165
D° - 1794	9,553,514	32d D° -	13,617,895

Thus, hath the event decided against Earl Stanhope's calculations and plan, by a balance of £.4,064,581, in eight years operations. And, this experience is alone sufficient to satisfy us how little the theories of *speculatists* ought to be allowed to actuate the practice of life, or the movements of legislation.

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find it their interest, if they had the inclination, to deal in public securities with a view to great profits\*. If the gradual and steady rise of the stocks be for the interest of the public, as well as of individuals, the quarterly application of the new fund must be deemed a great improvement of the old, which was seldom felt in the stock market, and gave little motion to general circulation. By these means will the capitals of the public debts be rendered more manageable, in no long period; the price of stocks must necessarily rise; the finance operations of government will thereby be performed with still greater advantage to the state; and industrious individuals will, in the same manner, be more easily accommodated with discounts, and with loans.

The establishment of such a fund, and the creation of such a trust, are doubtless very important services to the people collectively, as they form a corporation, or community. But, it may be easily shewn, that the people individually will be still

\* The purchases being confined to the transfer days, little more than £.5,000 can be brought to market on any one day, which of consequence can make no rapid rise of any one stock: And, when the sinking-fund amounts to the greatest possible sum of £.4,000,000, the purchase-money on any day can only be something more than £.20,000.—The gradual application of this sinking-fund is an excellent quality of it, because sudden changes in the stock-market are not for the interest of real buyers, or sellers. The commissioners therefore can gain little profit from their superior knowledge of the stock into which they intend to purchase.

greater



greater gainers, by the new sinking-fund, as it has been thus judiciously formed. And, in this view of the subject, its steady operation will be of still greater utility to the nation, than even the payment of debts, because it is the prosperity of individuals, which forms the real wealth of the state. The ingenious theorists, who oblige the world with projects, for paying the national debt, consider merely the interest of the corporation, or public, without attending to what is of more importance, the advantage of the private persons, of whom the public consist. Of Mr. Pitt's sinking-fund, it is one of the greatest commendations, that it promotes the true interest of both parties, in just proportions.

A new order of buyers being thus introduced, and a new demand being thereby created, the price of stocks must necessarily rise, notwithstanding the arts of the stockjobbers; because the public securities become in fact of more real value. In proportion as the money is sent from the sinking-fund to the stock-exchange, the price of stocks must gradually rise still higher. And a rise of stocks, when gradual and steady, never fails to produce the most salutary effects on universal circulation, by facilitating transfers of property, and by aiding the performance of contracts. Recent experience confirms this general reasoning. Every one must remember how impossible it was for individuals to borrow money on any security, for any premium, till towards the end of 1784. When the stocks began



began to rise, the price of lands equally rose. When the government ceased to borrow, and the unfunded debts were liquidated, manufacturers and traders easily obtained discounts, and readily acquired permanent capitals.

But, the wisdom of man could not have devised a measure more favourable to circulation, than the sending of large sums, from day to day, into the Stock-exchange; whereby the course of circulation is constantly filled, and, being always augmented, becomes still more rapid. It is the rise of stocks, and the fulness of circulation, which make money overflow the coffers of the opulent, unless some unforeseen drain should be unhappily opened. When cash becomes thus plenty, the natural interest of money gradually falls, and bills of exchange, and other private securities, are readily discounted at a lower rate. In this happy state of things, money is said to be plenty; and every individual is accommodated with loans and with discounts, according to his needs, by pledging his property, or his credit.

Owing to all those facilities, every industrious man easily finds employments. The manufacturers are all engaged. The traders send out additional adventures. The ship-owners are offered many freights. The produce of the husbandman is consumed by a busy people. And thus are rents more readily paid, and taxes more easily collected. Such are the benefits, which result to individuals and the state, from a rapid circulation, that  
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can only be promoted, and preserved, by sending money constantly into the Stock-exchange. It is thus, by inciting an active industry, that the payment of public debts, through the channel of a quarterly sinking-fund, enables the people to pay the greatest taxes with ease and satisfaction. And thus may we solve a difficult problem in political economy, whether the surplus of the public revenue ought to be applied in the discharge of debts, or in the diminution of taxes: the one measure assuredly invigorates the industry of the people, in the manner, that we have just observed; the other may promote their indolence, but cannot procure them an advantage, in any proportion to the benefits of unceasing employments, and the accommodation of more extensive capitals: by means of industry the heaviest burthens seem light: by the influence of sloth the slightest duty appears intolerable.

It was owing, probably, to the invigorating effects of an augmented circulation, that our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, not only flourished, but gradually increased, to their present magnitude, amidst our frequent wars, our additional taxes, and accumulating debts. How much the scanty circulation of England was filled, during the great civil wars of the last century, by the vast imposts of those times, and how soon the interest of money was thereby reduced, we have already seen. Similar consequences followed the wars of William, and of Anne,

Anne, owing to familiar causes. The sinking-fund, which, for several years after its creation, in 1716, did not much exceed half a million, produced, assuredly, the most salutary influences, even before the year 1727: The value of the public funds rose considerably, though the stipulated interest on them had been reduced, first, from 6 to 5 *per cent.* and, in that year, from 5 to 4 *per cent.* The natural interest of money gradually fell: The price of lands in the mean time advanced from 20 and 21 years purchase to 26 and 27: And our agriculture and manufactures, our trade and our shipping, kept a steady pace with the general prosperity of the nation\*. Such are the salutary effects of a circulation, which, being replenished by daily augmentations, is preserved constantly full. And thus it is, that the people are eased in the payment of taxes, by being better enabled to pay them, while taxes are continually augmented, though there may be some imposts, which ought to be repealed, as they press upon particular objects.

On the other hand, an obstructed circulation never fails to create every evil, which can afflict an industrious people: Scarcity of money, and unfavourable discounts; unpurchased manufactures, and want of employments; unpaid rents, and unperformed contracts; are the mischiefs, which distress every individual, and embarrass the community, while circulation is impeded. The com-

\* For the above-mentioned facts, see *And. Chron. Com.* vol. ii. p. 316—22.

merce of England was well nigh ruined, during King William's reign, by the disorders in the coin, the want of confidence, and the high price of money. The foreign bankruptcies, in 1763, reduced the value of cargoes, which were exported in this year, from sixteen millions to fourteen, during several years, owing to the decline of general credit. How much the domestic business of Great Britain was embarrassed by the bankruptcies of 1772 and 1773, which, in England, amounted, in the first year, to 525, and to 562, in the second, is still remembered\*. The complaints, which were at those periods made of a decline of commerce, were merely owing to an obstructed circulation, as subsequent experience hath amply evinced.

Wars, then, in modern times, are chiefly destructive, as they incommode the industrious clas-

\* The following detail is alone sufficient to demonstrate how the manufactures of a country may be ruined by a languid circulation, without the interruptions of war. Of linen cloth there were stamped for sale in Scotland,

during 1771	—	13,466,274 yards.
1772	—	13,089,006.
1773	—	10,748,110.
1774	—	11,422,115.

Of woollen cloth, there were fulled, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the year ended

	Broad.	Narrow.
the 25th March 1792, -	203,623 pieces	156,475 pieces
Ditto - 1793, -	214,851	190,468
Ditto - 1794, -	190,332	150,666

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ses, by obstructing circulation. Yet, general industry was not much retarded, however individual persons, or particular communities, may have been deranged, or injured, by the colony-war. The people were able to consume abundantly, since they actually paid vast contributions, by their daily consumption of exciseable commodities\*. And though they pursued their accustomed occupations, and thus paid vast imposts, the established income of the state sustained considerable defalcations from various causes; from the abuses, which war never fails to introduce into certain branches of the revenue; from the illicit traffic, that generally prevails in the course of hostilities; and from the new impositions, which somewhat lessen the usual produce of the old.

\* Of malt there were consumed,

	Bush.	Old Duties.
in 1773—4—5	72,588,010	£.1,814,700.
in 1780—1—2	87,343,083	2,183,577.
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Of low wines from corn,

	Gal.	Old Duties.
in 1773—4—5	9,974,237	£.415,593.
in 1780—1—2	11,757,499	489,895.
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Of Soap,

	lb.	Old Duties.
in 1773—4—5	93,190,149	£.582,438.
in 1780—1—2	98,076,806	612,980.
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Those disorders in the public revenue have been at least palliated, if they have not been altogether cured, since the re-establishment of peace. The measures, which were vigorously adopted, for the effectual prevention of smuggling; the alterations, which have been made in the collection of some departments of the public income; and the improvement, that has been happily effected in all; have brought, and continue to bring, vast sums into the Exchequer\*. The public expenditure continually distributes this vast revenue among the creditors, or servants of the State, who return it to the original contributors, either for the necessaries, or the luxuries, of life. The Exchequer, which thus constantly receives and dispenses this immense income, has been aptly compared to the human heart, that unceasingly carries on the vital circulation, so invigorating while it flows, so fatal when it stops. Thus it is, that modern taxes, which are never hoarded, but always expended, may even promote the employments and industry, the prosperity and populousness, of an industrious people.

\* The whole public revenue paid into the Exchequer,

from Michaelmas 1783	}	—£. 12,995,519
to ditto 1784		
Ditto, from Michaelmas 1784	}	— 15,379,182
to ditto 1785		
Ditto from 5 January 1785	}	— <u>15,397,471</u>
to ditto 1786		

## C H A P. XI.

*The Controversy on the Populousness of Britain revived.—The Parties.—A Review of their Publications.—An Examination of the Argument—from Reasoning—from Facts—from Experience.—The augmented Populousness of Ireland.—The Increase of People in Scotland.—The general Result—as to England.*

THE contest, which had been carried on during the war of 1756, between Doctor Brackenridge, and Doctor Forster, with regard to the effects of our policy, both in war, and in peace, on population, was revived, amidst our Colony contests, by Doctor Price, and his opponents. This last controversy furnishes much more instruction, with regard to a very interesting subject, than the former; as the disputants took a wider range, and collected, in their course, many new facts. Doctor Price revived the dispute, by contributing an Appendix to Mr. Morgan's Essay on Annuities, wherein the Doctor attempted to prove, by ingenious remarks on births and burials, a gradual decline in the populousness of Great Britain. He was soon encountered by Mr. Arthur Young, who justly inferred, from the progress of improvements

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in agriculture, in manufactures, and in commerce, an augmentation, in the number of people. Mr. Eden published, in 1779, elegant criticisms\* on Doctor Price; by which he endeavoured to invalidate the argument, that had been drawn from a comparison of the number of houses, at the Revolution, and at present; insisting that the first must have been less, and the last much greater, than the text had allowed. In his reply, the Doctor shewed some mistakes in his antagonist, without adding much to the force of his argument. Yet, if we may credit his coadjutor, who entered zealously into all his prejudices, *he considered his system as more firmly established than ever* †.

This long-continued controversy now found other supporters. Mr. Wales published his *Accurate Inquiry*, in 1781. With considerable success he overthrows Doctor Price's fundamental argument, from the comparison of houses at different periods; by shewing, that the returns of houses to the tax-office are not always precise; by proving, from actual enumerations of several towns, at distant periods, that they had certainly increased; by evincing, from the augmented number of births, that there must be a greater number of breeders. This able performance was immediately followed by Mr. Howlet's still more extensive examination of Doctor Price's essay. Mr.

\* In his Letters to Lord Carlisle.

† Uncertainty of Population, p. 9.

Howlet expands the arguments of Mr. Wales; he adds some illustrations; and, what is of still greater importance, in every inquiry, he establishes many additional facts.

The treatises of Mess. Wales and Howlet made a great impression on the public, as facts in opposition to speculations, must ever make. At the moment, when their publications had gained—*a considerable share of popular belief*, it was deemed prudent, on the side of Doctor Price, to publish—*Uncertainty of the present population*. This writer frankly declares that *he is convinced by neither party*, and that he must consequently remain *in a state of doubt and sceptical suspense*. His apparent purpose is to shew, in opposition to *the popular belief*, that after all our researches, *we really know nothing with any certainty*, as to this important part of our political œconomy. In the sceptical arithmetic of this dubious computer, 1,300,000, when multiplied by 5, produce 6,250,000. Doctor Price and his coadjutors seemed unwilling to admit, that if there were, in England and Wales, at Lady-day 1690, 1,300,000 *inhabited houses*, and *five persons* in each, there must necessarily have been, at the same time, 6,500,000 souls. For, they feared the charge of absurdity, in supposing a decrease of *a million and a half of people*, during ninety years of *augmented employments*: And, they perceived, that by admitting there were, in 1690, six million and a half of people, they would thereby be obliged to admit, that there had been an augmentation of a million

and a half, during the foregoing century, notwithstanding the long civil wars, and the vast emigrations. The Doctor published, in 1783, Remarks on these tracts of Mess. Wales and Howlet\*. And, with his usual acuteness, he detects some mistakes; but, with his accustomed pertinacity, he adheres to his former opinions.

The matter in dispute, we are told †, must be determined, not by vague declamation, or speculative argument, but by well-authenticated facts: For, “the grand argument of Dr. Price is at once extremely clear, and comprehended in a very narrow compass.” The following is the state of this *grand argument*:

That there appeared by the Hearth-books, at Lady Day 1690, to be in England and	Houfes.
Wales - - - - -	1,300,000;
That there appeared by the Tax-office books, in 1777, only - - -	<u>952,734:</u>

Whence, the Doctor inferred, as a necessary consequence, that there had been a proportional diminution of people, since 1690.

Considering how important this subject is to the state, and how much it is connected with the general purpose of this Estimate, I was led to examine, at once with minuteness and with brevity, an argu-

\* In his Observations on Reversionary Payments, in 2 vol. 8vo.

† By *Uncertainty of Population.*



ment, which has been ostentatiously displayed, as equal in its inferences to the certainty of actual enumerations.

In lieu of the obnoxious hearth-tax, the Parliament imposed, in 1696, a duty of two shillings on every house; six shillings on every house, containing ten windows, and fewer than twenty; and ten shillings on every house having more than twenty windows; those *occupiers* only excepted, who were exempted from church and poor rates. And Gregory King computed, with his usual precision, what the tax would produce, before it had yielded a penny\*: Thus, says he, the number of *inhabited houses* is - - - - - 1,300,000;

whereof, under 10 windows 980,000;  
 under 20 windows 270,000;  
 above 20 windows 50,000.

————— 1,300,000.  
 —————

Out of which deducting,

for those receiving alms - - - -	330,000 houses at 2s.	£. 660,000.
for those not paying to church and poor	380,000 ——— at 2s. 4d.	44,000.
for omissions, frauds, and defaulters -	40,000 ——— at 4s.	8,000.
	—————	—————
Insolvent - - - -	750,000.	£. 85,000.
Solvent - - - -	550,000; paying nett	- 119,000.
		—————

However many *insolvent* houses were thus deducted from the 1,300,000 *inhabited houses*, Gregory King allowed at last too many *solvent* ones. This truth may be inferred from the following *facts*.

\* Pol. Observ. Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. N° 1898.

There remains in the tax-office \* a particular account of the money, which each county paid in 1701, for the before-mentioned tax of 1696, from the assessments of Lady-day 1700, and which amounted to - - - - £. 115,226.

But, the oldest list of houses, which specifically paid the tax of 1696, is "*an account made up, for 1708, from an old survey book,*" but from *prior* assessments: And this account stands thus:

Houses at 2s. —	248,784,	produced	£.	24,878.
6s. —	165,856,	—————		49,757.
10s. —	93,876,	—————		46,398.
		—————		—————
	508,516,	producing	£.	121,033.
		—————		—————

He who does not see a marvellous coincidence †, between this official document and the previous calculation of Gregory King, must be blind indeed. The *solvent* houses of King, and the *charged* houses of 1708, are of the same kind, both being those houses, which *actually paid*, or were supposed to have paid, the tax. And, Mr. Henry Reid, a

\* I have ransacked the tax-office for information on this litigated but important subject; and I was assisted in my researches by the intelligent officers of this department, with an alacrity, which shewed, that, having fully performed their duty to the public, they did not fear minute inspection.

† The houses having *upwards* of twenty windows, in the tax-office account of 1781, are 52,373. The number of the same kind allowed by King is 50,000: But he is not so fortunate in his other calculations.

comptroller of the tax-office, who was noted for his minute diligence, and attentive accuracy, reported to *the Treasury*, in October 1754, that *the old duties*, on an average, produced yearly, from 1696 to 1709 - - - £. 118,839\*.

But, there must have necessarily been a great many more houses, in 1708, than the 508,516, charged, and paying £. 121,033. In the twelve years from 1696, there could have been no great waste of houses, however powerful the destructive cause might have been. And Gregory King, in order to make up his thirteen hundred thousand houses, calculated the *dwellings of the poor*, in 1696, at - - - - - 710,000; and of defaulters, &c. at - - - - - 40,000;

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750,000.

Davenant † stated, in 1695, from the hearth-books, the cottages, *inhabited by the poorer sort*, at 500,000; and he afterwards asserts, as Doctor Price observed, that there were, in 1689, houses, called cottages, having *one* hearth, to the number of 554,631: whence we may equally suppose, that there were dwellings, having two hearths, a very considerable number, whose inhabitants, either receiving alms, or paying nothing, did not contribute to the tax of 1696: so that, in 1708, there must have certainly existed 710,000 dwellings of the poor; as this number had certainly existed in 1696.

\* Gregory King calculated the tax beforehand at £. 119,000.

† Vol. i. edit. 1st, p. 5.

Mr. Henry Reid moreover reported to the Treasury, in 1754, that in the year 1710, when an additional duty took place, it became an universal practice to stop up lights; so that, in 1710, the old duties yielded only £. 115,675:—And for some years, both the old, and the new, duty suffered much from this cause, as there was no penalty for the stopping of windows. Other duties, continues he, were imposed in 1747\*; so that from Lady-day 1747, to Lady-day 1748, the whole duties yielded £. 208,093: and, an explanatory act having passed in 1748, the duties yielded, for the year ending at Lady-day 1749, £. 220,890: But, other modes of evading the law being soon found, the duties decreased year after year.—And thus much from the intelligent Mr. Henry Reid, who never dreamed of houses falling into non-existence.

The first account of houses, which now appears to have been made up, subsequent to that of 1708, is the account of 1750, and the last is that of 1781. With the foregoing data before us, we may now

\* By the 20 Geo. II. ch. 3; which recites, that whereas it hath often been found from experience, that the duties granted by former acts of parliament have been greatly lessened by means of persons frequently stopping up windows in their dwelling houses, in order to evade payment; and it hath often happened, that several assessments have not been made in due time; and that persons remove to other parishes without paying the duty for the houses so quitted, to the prejudice of the Revenue. But the legislature do *not* recite, that houses daily fell down, or that the numbers of the people yearly declined.

form

form a judgment sufficiently precise, in respect to the progress of our houses, *charged* and *chargeable* with the house and window tax:

The charged, in 1696, according to King,	550,000
The chargeable, <i>according to him</i> ,	- 40,000
	590,000
The charged and chargeable, in 1750,	729,048*
	729,048
Increase in 54 years - -	139,048
	139,048
The charged, in 1708 - - -	508,516
The chargeable, let us suppose -	100,000
	608,516
The charged, and chargeable, in 1781,	721,351
	721,351
Increase in 73 years - -	112,835.
	112,835.

Here, then, is a solution of the difficult problem, in political œconomy, which has engaged so many able pens, Whether there exist as many houses, at present, as there certainly were, in England and Wales, at the Revolution; at least, the question is decided, as to the number of houses, *charged* and *chargeable* with the window and house tax: And, of consequence, the middling and higher ranks of

\* This high number, in 1750, was probably owing to the act of parliament, 20 Geo. II. which had just past, when new modes of circumvention had not yet taken place.



men must, with the number of their dwellings, have necessarily increased.

A great difficulty, it must be admitted, still remains, which cannot be altogether removed, though many obstructions may be cleared away. The difficulty consists, in ascertaining, with equal precision, the number of dwellings, which have been exempted, by law, from every tax, since 1690, on account of the poverty of the dwellers. The litigated point must at last be determined by an answer to the question, Whether the lower orders are more numerous in the present day, than they were in 1690?

A modern society has been compared, with equal elegance and truth, to a pyramid, having the higher ranks for its point, and the lower orders for its base. Gregory King left us an account of the people, minutely divided into their several classes, which, though formed for a different purpose, contains sufficient accuracy for the present argument\*.

\* Davenant's works, 6 vol. Scheme D, which was copied from Gregory King's Observations, p. 15, with some inaccuracies.

RANKS.	Number of Families.	Heads in each.	Number of Persons.
Spiritual lords	26	20	520
Temporal lords	160	40	6,400
Knights	600	13	7,800
Baronets	800	16	12,800
Eminent clergymen	2,000	6	12,000
Eminent merchants	2,000	8	16,000
Esquires	3,000	10	30,000
Gentlemen	12,000	8	96,000
Military officers	4,000	4	16,000
Naval officers	5,000	4	20,000
Persons in lesser offices	5,000	6	30,000
Persons in higher offices	5,000	8	40,000
Lesser clergymen	8,000	5	40,000
Lesser merchants	8,000	6	48,000
Persons in the law	10,000	7	70,000
Persons of the liberal arts	15,000	5	75,000
Freeholders of the better sort	40,000	7	280,000
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	50,000	4½	225,000
Artizans	60,000	4	240,000
Freeholders of the lesser sort	120,000	5½	660,000
Farmers	150,000	5	750,000
Gipsies, thieves, beggars, &c.	—	—	30,000
Common soldiers	35,000	2	70,000
Common sailors	50,000	3	150,000
Labourers and out-servants	364,000	3½	1,274,000
Cottagers and paupers	400,000	3¼	1,300,000
			5,499,520

If this division of the people should be deemed only probable, it would prove, with sufficient conviction, how many dwellings the two last classes required to shelter them, since they contained no fewer than *two million five hundred and seventy-four thousand persons*. Gregory King allotted for them, as we have seen, 550,000 houses. And it is apparent, that if the two lower orders of men have augmented, with the progress, which has been traced in our agriculture and manufactures, in our traffic and navigation, such persons must necessarily dwell in a greater number of houses.

Davenant has shewn, that the poor rates of England and Wales amounted, towards the end of Charles II.'s reign, to - - - £. 665,302.

By an account given in to parliament, in 1776, the poor rates amounted to - - - 1,556,804.

However this vast sum, which is probably under the truth, may have been misapplied, or wasted, yet every one, who received his proportion of it, as alms, was exempted from the tax on chargeable houses, and must have consequently swelled the number of cottagers.

Whatever the term *cottage* may have signified formerly, it was described, by the statute of the 20 Geo. II. as a house, having nine windows, or under, whose inhabitant either receives alms, or does not pay to church and poor. But, we are  
not

not inquiring about *the word*, but *the thing*; whether the *dwellings* of the lower orders, of whatever denomination, have increased, or diminished, since the Revolution; and *the end* of this inquiry is to find, whether the lower orders of men have decreased, or augmented.

The argument for a decreased number of cottages is this: Gregory King, from a view of the hearth-books of 1690, (which yet did not contain the cottages, since they were not chargeable with the hearth-tax) calculated the dwellings of those, who either received alms, or did not give any, at

-	-	-	-	-	550,000.
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The surveyors of houses returned the

number of cottages, in 1759 *, at	-	282,429;
and in 1781	- -	284,459.

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Forster, the antagonist of Brackenridge, was the first, probably, who objected to the accuracy of the surveyors returns, with regard to *all* houses. Having obtained the *collectors rolls*, he had counted, in 1757, the number of houses in nine contiguous parishes; whereby he found, that, out of 588 houses, only 177 paid the tax; that Lambourn

\* This is the first year, says Doctor Price, that an order was given to return the cottages excused for poverty. I have in my possession some returns which were made of cottages in 1757, and which, having escaped the destruction of time, evince previous orders and previous performance. There was, in fact, an account of the cottages made up at the tax-office in 1756.

parish, wherein there is a market-town, contains 445 houses, of which 229 only paid the tax. When it was objected to Forster, that this survey was too narrow for a general average, he added afterwards nine other parishes, in distant counties; whereby it appeared, that of 1,045 houses, only 347 were charged with the duty; whence he inferred, that the *cottages* were to the *taxable houses* as more than *two* to *one* \*. Mr. Wales equally objected to the truth of the surveyors returns, in their full extent. And Mr. Howlet endeavoured, with no small success, to calculate the average of their errors, in order to evince what ought probably to have been the true amount of the genuine numbers. In this calculation, Doctor Price hath doubtless shewn petty faults; yet is there sufficient reason to conclude, with Doctor Forster and Mr. Howlet, that the houses returned to the tax-office are to the whole, as 17 are to 29, nearly. It will at last be found, that the returns of taxable houses are very near the truth; but that the reports of exempted houses cannot possibly be true: for 280,000, or even 300,000 cottages, would not contain the two lower orders, who existed in England and Wales at the Revolution; and

\* Forster's letter, in December 1760, which the Royal Society declined to publish. [MSS. Birch, Brit. Mus. No. 4440.] The algebraical sophisms of Brackenridge were printed in the foreign gazettes: the true philosophy of Forster, by *experiment* and *fact*, was buried in the rubbish of the Royal Society.



who, with the greatest aid of machinery, could not perform the annual labour of the same countries at present.

Our agriculture has at all times employed the greatest number of hands, because it forms the support of our manufactures, our traffic, and our navigation. It admits of little dispute, whether our husbandry has been pursued, before, or since the bounty on the export of corn, in 1689, with the greatest skill, diligence, and success. Mr. Arthur Young found, in 1770, by inquiries in the counties, and by calculations from minutes of sufficient accuracy, that the persons engaged in farming alone amounted to 2,800,000; besides a vast number of people, who are as much maintained by agriculture as the ploughman that tills the soil\*. Yet, the two lower ranks of Gregory King, including the labouring people and out-servants, the cottagers, paupers, and vagrants, amounted only to 2,600,000.

Of the general state of our manufactures at the Revolution, and at present, no comparison can surely be made, as to the extensiveness of their annual value, or to the numerosity of useful people, who were employed by them. The woollen manufacture of Yorkshire alone is, in the present day, of equal extent with the woollen manufactures of England, at the Revolution. By an account, which had been formed at the aulnager's office, it

\* North. Tour, vol. iv. p. 364—5.

appears,

appears, that the woollen goods exported in 1688, were valued at two millions, exclusive of the home consumption, that amounted to a much less value\*. The manufacturers furnished the committee of privy council, who sat on the Irish arrangements, with “ a particular estimate of the Yorkshire woollen manufactures;” whereby it appeared, that there were exported yearly of the value of £.2,371,942, and consumed at home £.901,759†. We know, with sufficient certainty, from the custom-house books, that after clothing the inhabitants, there were exported of the value of woollens, according to an average of the years 1699—1700—1, the value of - - - - - £.2,561,615; the average of 1769—70—71 - 4,323,463; the average of 1790—91—92 - 5,056,733.

And this manufacture, which has been always regarded as the greatest, continues to flourish, as we have just seen, and to employ, as it is said, a million and a half of people.

Since the epoch of the Revolution, we may be said to have gained the manufactures of silks, of linen, of cotton, of paper, of iron, and the potteries, with glass; besides other ingenious fabrics, which all employ a very numerous and useful race. We may indeed determine, with regard to the augmentation of our manufactures, and

\* MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. N° 1858, for a minute account.

† The Council Report.

to the increase of our artizans, from the following detail :

There were exported, according to an average of the years 1699—1700—1701, products, <i>exclusive of the woollens before-mentioned</i> , of the value of - - - - -	£. 3,863,810.
Ditto in 1769—70—71 - - -	10,565,196.
Ditto in 1790--91—92 - - -	*10,744,092.

Thus, have we demonstration, that while our woollen manufactories nearly doubled, in their extent, during seventy years, our other manufactures had almost trebled, in theirs : And, therefore, it is equally demonstrable, that the great body of artists,

\* Such is the exhilarating view, which the exported cargoes exhibit of our prosperity ! The imports of the materials of manufacture will furnish a prospect equally pleasing :

OF SPANISH WOOL.

There were imported into England, according to a three years average, ending with 1705	lbs.	-	1,020,903.
D° - - - 1720	-	-	606,313.
D° - - - 1787	-	-	2,622,101.
D° - - - 1792	-	-	3,161,914.

OF COTTON WOOL.

There were imported into England, according to a five years average, ending with 1705	lbs.	-	1,170,881.
D° - - - 1720	-	-	2,173,287.
D° - - - 1787	-	-	16,466,312.
D° - - - 1792	-	-	29,620,281.

P who

who were constantly employed, in all those manufactories, must have increased, nearly, in the same proportion, during the same busy period.

The whole sailors, who were found in England, by enumeration, in January 1700—1, amounted to . . . . . \*16,591.

By a calculation, which agreed nearly with the accuracy of this enumeration, there appeared to have been annually employed in *the merchants service*, between the years 1764 and 1774 - 59,565.  
 In 1792 : - - - - 87,569.

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The tonnage of English shipping, during King William's reign, amounted only to - - 230,441 tons.  
 D° during the present reign - 1,186,610

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We may thence certainly determine, with regard to the number of useful artificers, who must have been employed, during the latter period, more than in the former, in building and repairing our ships. It is husbandry, then, and manufactures, commerce, and navigation, which every where, in later ages, employ, and maintain the great body of the people. Now, the labour demanded, during the present reign, to carry forward the national busi-

\* There is reason to believe, however, that the above enumeration did not contain the sailors of the port of London.

ness, agricultural and commercial, could not, by any possibility, have been performed, by the inferior numbers of the industrious classes, who doubtless existed, in the reign of King William. And from the foregoing reasonings, and facts, we may certainly conclude, with one of the ablest writers of any age, on political œconomy: "The liberal reward of labour, as it is the effect of increasing wealth, so it is the cause of increasing population: To complain of it [high wages] is to lament over the necessary effect and cause of the greatest public prosperity"\*. It is absurd, then, to argue, that as employments increase, population diminishes; that as hands are wanted, fewer hands should be found; and that as greater comforts are conferred on mankind, the natural propensity of man to multiply, and to people the earth, should become less powerful, in its genial energies.

In calculating the numbers of people, we must attentively consider the state of society, in which they exist; whether as fishers and hunters, as shepherds and husbandmen, as manufacturers and traders; or as in a mixed condition, composed partly of each denomination. The American tribes, who represent the first, are found to be inconsiderable in numbers; because they do not easily procure

\* See the Inquiry into the Causes of the Wealth of Nations, ch. 8; wherein Dr. Adam Smith treats *Of the Wages of Labour*, and incidentally of population, with a perspicuity, an elegance, and a force, which have been seldom equalled.



subsistence from their vast lakes, and unbounded forests, by fishing, and hunting. The Asiatic Tartars, who represent the second stage of society, are much more populous; since they derive continual plenty from their multitudinous flocks. But, even these are by no means equal in population to the Chinese, who acquire their comforts from an unremitting industry, which they employ in agriculture, in manufacture, in the arts, in fisheries, though not in navigation. It was foreign commerce, which peopled the marshes of the Adriatic, and the Baltic, during the middle ages; hence arose Venice, and the Hanse Towns, with their envied opulence, and naval power. It was the conjunction of agriculture, manufactures, and traffic, which filled *the Low Countries* with populous towns, with unexampled wealth, and with marvellous energy. The same causes, that produced all those effects, which history records, as to industry, riches, and strength, continue to produce similar effects, at present.

When England was a country of shepherds, and warriors, we have beheld her inconsiderable in numbers. When manufacturers found their way into the country, when husbandmen gradually acquired greater skill, and when the spirit of commerce at length actuated all; people, we have seen, grow out of the earth, amidst convulsions, famine, and warfare. He who compares the population of England and Wales at the Conquest, at the demise of Edward III. at the year 1588, with our popula-

population in 1688, must trace a vast progress, in the intervenient centuries. But, England can scarcely be regarded as a manufacturing, and commercial country, at the Revolution, when contrasted with her present prosperity, in manufacture, and trade. The theorist, then, who insists, that our numbers have thinned, as our employments have increased, and our population declined, as our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, advanced, argues against facts, opposes experience, and shuts his eyes against daily observation.

Yet, Doctor Price, and his followers, contend, that our industrious classes have dwindled the most, since 1749, because it is from this epoch, that the prosperity of the people has been the greatest, however they may have, at any time, been governed. And the following argument is said to amount to demonstration, because *it contains as strong a proof of progressive depopulation as actual surveys can give*\*:

The number of houses returned to the tax-office, as *charged* and *chargeable*, was,

—	—	—	in 1750	—	729,048
			in 1756	—	715,702
			in 1759	—	704,053
			in 1761	—	704,543
			in 1777	—	701,473

For a moment, Doctor Price would not listen to the suggestion, that the houses may

\* Dr. Price's Essay on Popul. p. 38.

have *existed*, though they were not *included*, in the returns of the intermediate years. But, lo! additional returns have been made up at the tax-office, amounting, — — — in 1781 to 721,351.  
 in 1794 to 1,008,222.

This detail is sufficient to show, that the Doctor has failed in the proof, which was to outargue facts, to overthrow experience, and to convert the improbable into certainty.

As a supplemental proof\*, which may give

* The chargeable houses,			
in 1781, <i>under</i> 10 windows, were	—	—	497,801
<i>under</i> 21 windows,	—	—	171,177
<i>above</i> 20 windows,	—	—	52,373
			<hr/>
			721,351
Cottages	—	—	284,459
			<hr/>
Total houses, and cottages, in 1781,	-		1,005,810
The houses in 1750	—	729,048	
The cottages in 1756	—	274,755	
		<hr/>	1,003,803
			<hr/>
Increase since 1750	—	—	2,007
			<hr/> <hr/>

The account of cottages, in 1756, was completed, as appears from the tax-office books, on the 20th of November 1756. And thus, by adopting the mode, and the materials, of Doctor Price's argument, it is shown, that he has been extremely mistaken, as to the depopulation of England, since 1750.

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satisfaction to well-meaning minds, there is annexed a comparative view of the number of houses, in each county, as they appeared to King, and to Davenant, in the hearth-books of 1690; of the charged houses in 1708; of the chargeable houses in 1750; with the houses of the same description, in 1781. To this interesting document, is now added the number of houses, which were found in England, and Wales, by the enumeration of 1801:—This enumeration will be found to throw great light upon the comparative view of those various statements, which exhibit the numbers of houses, at those several epochs, in a mutilated state. This document has, at length, decided the question, which has been so often asked, whether the numbers of our houses have increased, or diminished, since the Revolution, in 1688. I had previously estimated the number of houses in England, and Wales, at 1,586,000, during 1781: the enumeration of 1801 has found them to amount to 1,632,431, inhabited, and uninhabited houses.



A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Number of Houses, in each County of England and Wales, as they appeared in the Hearth-books of Lady-Day 1690; as they were made up at the Tax-office, in 1708—1750—1781; and, as they appeared from the enumeration of 1801.

COUNTIES.	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses,	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses,	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses,	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses,	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses		
	1690.	1708.	charged and chargeable, 1750.	charged and chargeable, 1781.	enumerated, 1801.		
					Inhabited	Uninhabited	
Bedfordshire	12,170	5,479	6,802	5,360	11,888	1,282	
Berks	16,006	7,558	9,762	8,277	20,573	6,433	
Bucks	18,688	8,604	10,687	8,670	20,443	5,445	
Cambridge	18,629	7,220	9,334	9,088	16,139	3,490	
Chester	25,592	11,656	16,006	17,201	34,482	1,114	
Cornwall	26,613	9,052	14,520	15,274	32,906	1,407	
Cumberland	15,279	2,509	11,914	13,419	21,573	8,654	
Derby	24,944	8,260	13,912	14,046	31,822	1,366	
Devon	56,202	16,686	30,049	28,612	57,955	3,123	
Dorset	17,859	4,133	11,711	11,132	21,437	821	
Durham	53,345	6,298	10,475	12,418	27,195	1,117	
York	121,052	44,779	70,816	76,224	168,439	6,411	
Effex	40,545	16,250	19,057	18,389	38,371	1,021	
Gloucester	34,476	13,285	16,251	14,930	46,457	1,711	
Hereford	16,744	6,913	8,771	8,092	17,003	941	
Hertford	17,488	7,447	9,251	8,628	17,681	491	
Huntingdon	8,713	3,992	4,363	3,847	6,936	1,331	
Kent	46,674	21,871	30,029	30,975	51,556	1,411	
Lancashire	46,961	22,588	33,273	30,936	114,270	3,394	
Leicester	20,448	8,584	12,957	12,545	25,992	742	
Lincoln	45,019	17,571	24,999	24,591	41,395	1,094	
London, &c.	111,215	47,031	71,977	74,704	112,912	5,171	
Notfolk	56,579	12,097	20,697	20,056	47,617	1,522	
Northampton	26,904	9,218	12,464	10,350	26,665	739	
Northumberland	included in } Durham		6,787	10,453	12,431	26,518	1,534
Nottingham	17,818	7,755	11,001	10,872	25,611	542	
Oxford	19,627	8,502	10,362	8,698	20,599	594	
Rutland	3,661	1,498	1,873	1,445	3,274	87	
Salop	27,471	11,452	13,332	12,895	31,182	929	
Somerfet	45,900	19,043	27,822	26,407	48,040	2,136	
Southampton, &c.	28,557	14,331	18,045	15,828	38,284	906	
Stafford	26,273	10,812	15,917	16,483	45,521	2,003	
Suffolk	47,537	15,301	18,834	19,589	32,253	552	
Surrey, &c.	40,610	14,071	20,037	19,381	46,072	1,514	
Suffex	23,451	9,429	11,170	10,574	25,060	718	
Warwick	22,400	9,461	12,759	13,276	41,069	2,946	
Westmorland	6,691	1,904	4,937	6,144	7,897	315	
Wilts	27,418	11,373	14,303	12,856	28,059	1,170	
Worcester	24,440	9,178	9,967	8,791	26,711	1,109	
Anglesea	} South and North Wales.		1,040	1,334	2,264	6,679	127
Frecon			3,370	3,234	3,407	6,315	479
Cardigan			2,042	2,442	2,444	8,819	221
Carmarthen			3,985	5,020	5,126	13,449	371
Carnarvon			1,583	2,366	2,675	8,348	129
Denbigh			4,753	6,091	5,678	12,621	427
Flint			2,653	3,520	2,990	7,585	194
Glamorgan			5,020	6,290	5,146	14,225	537
Merioneth			1,900	2,664	2,972	5,787	193
Monmouth			3,289	4,080	4,454	8,948	417
Montgomery			4,047	4,890	5,421	8,725	223
Pembroke			2,764	2,803	3,224	11,869	398
Raonor			2,092	2,425	2,076	3,675	212
	7,921						
	1,319,215	508,516	729,048	721,351	1,574,902	57,529	



From this instructive document, then, it appears, that the number of houses have increased, from 1690 A. D. to 1801, no fewer than 313,516 dwellings. And, thus, has demonstration decided, for ever, this pertinacious controversy, about the increase, or the diminution, of the people, since the great epoch of the Revolution. It has decided, also, another litigated point, whether the returns of the houses to the tax office “furnish as strong a proof, “as actual surveys can give.” This dogma is now involved in the external disgrace of that assuming argument, which was to outargue facts, and to overthrow experience. From the *comparative view* before stated, it clearly appears, that *twenty* counties, including London, Westminster, and Middlesex, have actually increased, since 1750. Let us take the example of Surrey, and Lancashire, which are stated, as having decreased in houses, and consequently, in people, since 1750\*. It is apparent, that Surrey has been overflowed by London, during the last fifty years †. And of Lancashire, considering the vast augmentations of its domestic manufactures, and foreign trade, it is not too much to

\* The country commissioners often discharge, on appeal, houses, as not properly chargeable. This may occasion an apparent decrease.

† In the *villages round London*, there were baptized, during a period of twenty years, beginning with the Revolution - - - - - 20,782  
 During 20 years, beginning with 1758—60, or 61 39,383

assert,

assert, that it must have added to its houses, and people, one-fourth, since 1750\*.

But, it is said to be idle, and impertinent, to argue from the state of population in Yorkshire, or in Lancashire, since Dr. Price is ready to admit,  
*that*

* In sixteen parishes in Lancashire, exclusive of Manchester and Liverpool, there were baptized, in twenty years, about the Revolution	- - - - -	18,389
Ditto, from 1758	- - - - -	<u>47,919</u>

These proofs of a rapid increase of natural population are from Mr. Howlet's excellent Examination. It is an acknowledged fact, that Liverpool has doubled its inhabitants every five-and-twenty years, since the year 1700.

Of houses, Liverpool contained in	—	1753	—	3,700
	in	—	1773	—
	in	—	1783	—
	in	—	1788	—
				<u>7,690</u>

Yet, were its houses returned to the tax-office,

in	—	1777	at	3,974
and in	—	1784	at	<u>4,489</u>

Manchester with Salford have equally increased.

Of houses, there were in both, in	—	1773	—	4,268
	in	—	1783	—
				<u>6,178</u>

Of which there were returned to the tax-office,

in 1777	—	—	2,519
in 1784	—	—	<u>3,665</u>

And it might be easily shewn, that the smaller towns, and villages, of Lancashire, have grown nearly in the same proportion; and this most prosperous county has, during the last 90 years, increased in the numbers of people with the boasted rapidity of the American states. Boston (in New-England) was settled in 1633; yet, it did not contain twenty thousand inhabitants in 1775. Philadelphia was planted in 1682; yet, in  
its

*that these have added many to their numbers* \*. Yet, owing to what *moral cause* is it, that York and Lancashire, Chester and Derby, have acquired so many people? Is it owing to their manufactories, and traffic, and navigation, which augmented employments? Now, the same causes have produced the same effects, in the other counties of this fortunate island, in proportion as those causes have prevailed in each place.

It is pretended, however, that the astonishing augmentation of our cities did not arise from births, amidst prosperity, and happiness, since many people were brought from other districts, by the allurements of gain. The additional labourers could not assuredly have come, in considerable numbers, from those counties, which have sustained no diminution of people themselves; and in no European country is there less migration, from one parish to another, than in England. The principle of the poor laws checks population, by preventing the laborious poor, from looking for better employment, beyond the limits of their native parishes. Every one knows with what tyrannic rigour *the law of settlements* is enforced, by sending to their proper parishes the adventurous persons, who had found no employment at home. It is not, therefore, the migration of the adult from the country to the town, its happiest days, it did not comprehend thirty thousand souls. The other towns of the American states, being much inferior to these, can still less be compared to the manufacturing villages of England, or to Paisley, in Scotland, in the quickness of their growth.

\* Uncertainty of Population, p. 14—19.

that continually swells the amount of the busy multitudes, which are seen to swarm, where the spirit of diligence animates the people: and it is the employment, and habits of industry, which are given to children, in manufacturing towns, that add to the aggregate of dwellers in them, more than the arrival of strangers.

Having, in the foregoing manner, traced a gradual progress from *The Conquest* to *The Revolution*; having thus established, by the best proofs, which such an enquiry, without enumerations, admits, that the former current of population not only continued to run, but acquired a rapidity, and a fulness, as it flowed; we shall not find it difficult, since the chief objections are removed, to ascertain the probable amount of the present inhabitants. He who insists, that there were in England and Wales 1,300,000 inhabited houses in 1688, must equally allow, since it has been proved, that of these there were 711,000, which were inhabited by persons, who either received alms, or gave none; and it has been equally shewn, that the necessary labour of the present day could not, by any possible exertions, be performed by the lower orders, who certainly existed, in 1688. Hence, it is reasonable to conclude, that, since the 590,000 *chargeable* houses, in 1690, were accompanied with 710,000 *dwellings of the poor*, the 721,000 *chargeable* houses of 1781, must consequently be accompanied with 865,000 *dwellings of the poor*: For, such is the inference of just proportion. The distinct dwellings in England and Wales, when both classes are added together,



together, must be 1,586,000; which, if multiplied by  $5\frac{1}{3}$ , for the number of persons in each, would discover the whole numbers to be 8,447,200: But, there ought still to be an adequate allowance for empty houses, and for other circumstances of diminution; which, after every deduction, would shew the present population of England and Wales to be rather more than eight million. From the enumeration of 1801, we certainly find, that the numbers now are 9,330,000. And such an augmentation, as this would evince, since the Revolution, is altogether consistent with reason, with facts, and with experience.

Mr. Wallace, the learned antagonist of Mr. Hume, very justly remarks \*, “that it is not owing to the want of prolific virtue, but, to the distressed circumstances of mankind, every generation do not more than double themselves; which would be the case, if every man were married at the age of puberty, and could provide for a family.” He plainly evinces, that there might have easily proceeded from the *created pair* 6,291,456 persons, in seven hundred years. From the foregoing discussions, we have seen an augmentation of four million and a half of people, during six centuries and a quarter, of tyranny, of war, and of pestilence. But, when we consider the more frequent employments, and agreeable comforts, of the people, their superior freedom, and greater healthfulness, we may assuredly conclude, that there has been an augmentation of 2,830,000 since *The Revolution*.

\* Dissert. on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 8.



Of this great increase of people, Ireland furnishes a remarkable example, though this kingdom has not always enjoyed, during the effluxion of the last century, a situation equally fortunate\*. Ireland has suffered, during this period, the miseries of civil war, which ended in the forfeiture, and expulsion of thousands. In this period, also, multitudes constantly emigrated, either to exercise their industry, or to draw the sword, in foreign climes. Yet, are there abundant reasons to believe, that this prolific island has much more than trebled its inhabitants, in the last hundred years.

Sir William Petty, who possessed very minute details, with regard to the condition of Ireland, in the period, from the Restoration to the Revolution,

\* Though the hearth-books of England have sunk into oblivion, the hearth-books of Ireland remain. From the produce of the hearth-tax may be traced its gradual rise, as in the subjoined detail, which evinces the progress of population. It yielded, according to a five years average, ending

with	—	—	—	1687	—	£.32,416
Three years average, with				1732	—	42,456
D <sup>o</sup>	—	—	with	1762	—	55,189
Seven years	—	d <sup>o</sup>	—	1777	—	59,869
Five years	—	d <sup>o</sup>	—	1781	—	60,648
			In	1781	—	63,820

See Bibl. Harl. Brit. Mus. N<sup>o</sup> 4706—Mr. A. Young's Tour in Ireland, the Appendix—and Mr. Howlet's Essay on the Population of Ireland, p. 19.

† Pol. Anatomy, p. 7-11-17-116.

stated

stated the number of houses, in 1672 †, at 200,020  
 The number returned by the tax-gatherers,  
 in 1791\*, was - - - - 701,102

At the first epoch, the Irish nation had scarcely recovered from a long and destructive civil war. It is sufficiently known, that, notwithstanding the laudable efforts of the late Mr. Bushe, there are several houses omitted, which often happens, when interest may be promoted by concealment. Sir William Petty stated the whole population of Ireland, in 1672, at - - - - 1,100,000 souls.

Were we to multiply 701,102 }  
 houses of the year 1791, at 6 } 4,206,612 do.  
 in each †, this would carry the }  
 number up to - - - - }

\* See the account of houses given in to the Irish Parliament, on the 22d March 1792.

† Mr. Bushe had obtained actual enumerations of the number of dwellers, in each house, throughout many places of Ireland, exclusive of Dublin, amounting to 87,895 souls, in 14,108 houses, or nearly  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in each dwelling. But, Mr. Bushe went a step farther towards certainty, by getting the numbers, which dwelt in each kind of house: The houses of paupers had  $5\frac{1}{3}$  in each; in new houses were  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; in houses with two hearths were 9; and in houses with one hearth were  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in each. Mr. Bushe, however, considered these numbers, as higher than the general average. And, from all these data, I have formed the following TABLE of the POPULATION of Ireland, in 1791; shewing the number of each kind of persons, in that most populous kingdom:

483,990	houses of one hearth, at 6 in each	—	2,903,940
67,663	houses of two, or more, hearths, at 8 in each	— — — —	541,304
15,025	houses, unascertained, whether of one hearth, or more,	— at $6\frac{1}{2}$ in each	97,662
21,868	new houses,	— — at 4 in each	87,472
112,556	paupers' houses,	— at 5 in each	562,780
<u>701,102</u>	houses, containing of all kind of persons		<u>4,193,158</u>
			Were

Were we to admit this account, which has indeed been doubted, as merely an approximation to truth, it would demonstrate a still more considerable increase of people, than, as we have so many reasons for believing, took place, during the last hundred years, in England, which enjoyed more productive advantages. This example ought to be more convincing than many arguments.

The same principles, which, in every age, influenced the population of England, and of Ireland, produced similar effects on the populousness of Scotland. When England, and Ireland, were poor, and depopulated, we may easily conjecture, that Scotland could not have been very opulent, or populous. As England, and Ireland, gradually, acquired inhabitants, we may presume Scotland followed their paths, though at a great distance behind. And, the accounts, which the ministers of the several parishes have lately transmitted to Sir John Sinclair, from enumerations, prove, that the people of Scotland have greatly increased, during the last eight-and-thirty years\*. An intelligent observer might form a satisfactory judgment of

\* The numbers of inhabitants, which the ministers of the several parishes, in Scotland, have returned to Sir J. Sinclair, amount to 1,526,492: whereby it appears, that there has been an augmentation of 261,112, souls on 1,265,380, which were the numbers, about the year 1755. And thus, this litigated question seems to be decided, as to Scotland, from actual enumerations.

the previous condition of England and Scotland, from the accurate statements, whereon their union was formed.

The public revenue of England was £. 5,691,803  
of Scotland = - 160,000

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Of the trade of both, we may determine from the custom-house duties, which,  
in England, were - - - £. 1,341,559  
in Scotland - - - - - 34,000

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The gross income of the posts was,  
in England - - - - - £. 101,101  
in Scotland - - - - - 1,194

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Of the circulation of both, we may form an opinion from the re-coinage of both. There were re-coined  
in England, during King William's reign - - - - - £. 8,400,000  
in Scotland, soon after the Union 411,118

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We may decide, with regard to the consumption of both, from the excise-duties; which,  
in England, amounted to - - - £. 947,602  
in Scotland, to - - - - - 33,500

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From

From those details \* it is reasonable to infer, that Scotland possessed, in those days, no flourishing husbandry, few manufactories, little commerce, and less circulation, though there had certainly been a considerable advance, in all these, during the two preceding centuries. “Numbers of people, the greatest riches of other nations,” said Mr. Law †, in 1705, “are a burden to us; the land is not improved; the product is not manufactured; the fishing, and other advantages of foreign trade, are neglected.” Such was the deplorable state of Scotland, at the epoch of her happy union with England!

The Scots were, for years, too much engaged in religious, and political, controversy, to derive from that fortunate event, all the advantages which, at length, have undoubtedly flowed from it. Their misfortunes, arising chiefly from these evils, have, however, conferred on them the most invigorating benefits. The laws, that a wise policy enacted, created greater personal independence, and established better safeguards for property, which have produced the usual effects of a more animating industry. Of the intermediate improvements of their tillage we may form some judgment from the rise of rents, and the advance of the purchase-money for land, which must have necessarily proceeded from a

\* See the elaborate and very curious History of the Union by De Foe, republished by Stockdale; and Ruddiman's preface to Anderson's Diplomata.

† Considerations on Money and Trade.



better husbandry, or a greater opulence. The manufactories, which the Scots doubtless possessed, in 1707, though to no considerable extent, have not only been greatly enlarged\*, but to the old, new ones have mean while been added. The value of the whole exports by sea, amounted, at the epoch of the Union, if we may believe Mr. Law, to about £.300,000! The whole of these exports were carried up, before the colony war began, to £.1,800,000, if we may credit the custom-house books. The tonnage of shipping, which annually entered the ports of Scotland, at the first æra, was only 10,000†; but, at the last, 93,000 tons. The foregoing statements, general as they are, will evince to every intelligent mind, how much the commerce, and navigation, of Scotland have increased, since the hearts and hands of the two kingdoms were fortunately joined together, and how many useful people she has added to her original numbers.

Of the traffic of Scotland, it ought to be however remarked,

\* The quantity of linen made for sale in Scotland, during 1728, was only 2,000,000 yards; but, in 1775, 12,000,000. The linen is the chief manufacture of Scotland; and, were we to regard this as a proper representative of the whole, we might from this infer a very considerable augmentation in every other manufacture.

† In the Harl. MSS. No. 6269, Brit. Mus. there is a list of the ships belonging to Scotland, (as they were entered in the Register General kept at London) and Trading in the ports

remarked, that it is more easily driven from its course than the English, either by internal misfortunes, or by foreign warfare; because it is less firmly established; it is supported by smaller capitals; and it is less extensive in its range. The bankruptcies of 1772 deducted nearly £.300,000 from the annual exports of Scotland. The commercial events indeed of our two last wars would alone justify this remark. Let us compare, then, the exports of Scotland, when they were the lowest, during the war of 1756, with the lowest exports of the colony-war, and the highest exports of the first, with the highest of the second; because we shall thereby see the depressions, and elevations, of both:

of that kingdom, from Christmas 1707, to Christmas 1712, distinguishing those belonging to Scotland, prior to the Union, as follows:

			Vessels.	Tons.
Total	—	—	1,123	50,232
Prior to the Union	—	—	215	14,485
			—	—
Increase	—	—	908	35,747
There belonged to Scotland, in 1792, of vessels, which entered only once	—	—	2,116	154,857
			—	—
Of which were employed, in 1792, in				
Foreign trade	—	—	718	84,027
Coast trade	—	—	1,022	50,940
Fishing shallops, &c.	—	—	376	19,890
			—	—
The total	—	—	2,116	154,857
			—	—

Those comparative statements evince undoubtedly a very considerable increase of shipping in the intermediate period.

The

## The Value of Exports,

in 1755	—	£.535,577	—	in 1782	—	£.653,709
in 1756	—	628,049	—	in 1778	—	702,820
in 1757	—	828,577	—	in 1781	—	763,809
<hr/>						
in 1760	—	1,086,205	—	in 1776	—	1,025,973
in 1761	—	1,165,722	—	in 1777	—	837,643
in 1762	—	998,165	—	in 1780	—	1,002,039

When we recollect, that Great Britain was engaged, during the last war with her colonies, which occupied so much of the foreign trade of Scotland, with France, with Spain, and with Holland, we ought not to be surpris'd, that so much should be lost, as that so much should remain, at the end of eight years hostilities. It was deranged, but it was not ruined, as had been predicted, in 1774. And, when the various pressures of this most distressful war were removed, though with a tardy hand, it began to rise; yet not with the elasticity of 1763; because the colony commerce, which furnished so many of the exports of Scotland, had been turned into other channels. But, the following detail will enable us to form a more accurate judgment, with regard to this interesting subject:

## The Value of Exports from Scotland,

in 1762	—	£.998,165	—	in 1782	—	£.653,709
in 1763	—	1,091,436	—	in 1783	—	829,824
in 1764	—	1,243,927	—	in 1784	—	929,900
in 1765	—	1,180,867	—	in 1785	—	1,007,635

It ought, however, to be remembered, that in the first period, complete peace was established in 1763; but, in the last, it was not fully restored till the middle of 1784. Yet, the shipping of Scotland will be found, as we have already perceived the ships to be in England, our most infallible guides; because, the entries of ships are more accurately taken than the value of cargoes, and trade can scarcely be said to decline, while our vessels increase. Let us attend, then, to the following detail of ships, which entered in the ports of Scotland, during the following years, both before, and after, the late war:

	Foreign Trade.	Coast Trade.	Fishing, &c.
in 1769	— 48,271 tons.	21,615 tons.	10,275 tons.
in 1774	— 52,225 —	26,214 —	14,903
in 1784	— 50,386 —	31,542 —	10,421
in 1785	— 60,356 —	36,371 —	11,252*.

It is apparent then, that though the foreign trade of Scotland was somewhat inferior, in 1784,

\* The custom-house account, from which the above detail is taken, states the ships *to belong to Scotland, accounting each vessel only one voyage in every year.* This comparative estimate of the shipping, which were employed in the foreign, or over-sea, trade of Scotland, may be carried back to the peace of 1763. Thus, there were employed, in *foreign* voyages,

in 1759	— 22,902 tons.	—	in 1761	— 31,411 tons.
in 1763	— 33,352	—	in 1764	— 41,076
in 1782	— 40,530	—	in 1792	— 84,027

Whence, we may undoubtedly conclude, that Scotland possesses a much greater navigation at present, than at the peace of 1763, or at any prior epoch.



to that of 1774, it was equally superior to that of 1769, as that of 1785 was to that of 1774: That the coast trade was much greater, in 1785, than ever it had been in any prior year: And, that the fishing business of 1785 was more extensive than it had been in 1769, but much more confined than in 1774, if we may implicitly credit the custom-house books.

However the foreign trade of Scotland may have been depressed by the colony-war, there is reason to believe, that she has thereby added to her domestic manufactures. The commercial capitals, which could no longer be employed abroad, were at length more usefully laid out at home. Instead of promoting the labour of other countries, these capitals furnished employment to many hands, within the kingdom. And, Scotland has, by these means, extended her valuable manufacture of gauzes; she has augmented the number of her print-fields; she has acquired every branch of the cotton business; and she has greatly increased her linens\*. Thus it is, that an active people may be

\* Of Linens there were made for sale;

in 1772 - 13,089,006 yards.	—	in 1782 - 15,348,744 yards.
1773 - 10,748,110	—	1783 - 17,074,777
1774 - 11,422,115	—	1784 - 19,138,593
		1792 - 21,065,386

The greater number of shipping, which are at present employed, than before the war, in the coast-trade of Scotland, seems also to evince an augmentation of domestic commerce.

This comfortable truth is also proved by the increase of the



be even enriched, by throwing obstructions in the way of their foreign commerce. And, if productive labour constitute genuine wealth, the Scots may be regarded, at present, as a nation more industrious, opulent, and populous, than they were before the colony-war began, and much more than at the epoch of the Union.

These observations apply equally to England. Every occurrence, which at any time turned additional capitals into domestic employments, necessarily contributed to improve the agriculture, to augment the manufactures, to increase the wealth, and to add to the population of the country, by yielding a greater quantity of productive labour. Ireland, we have clearly seen, add millions to her numbers, in the short period of little more than a century, amidst civil war, and frequent emigrations. Scotland, we have also beheld, add greatly to her effective population, in the effluxion of forty years. And, England, like every other civilized country, must, of consequence, have made many additions to her populousness, during the busy course of the last hundred years. An argument was brought forward, with the parade of confidence, to prove a contrary position. But, after a fair examination, this argument, if it merit that dignified name, has

export by sea of Scotch manufactures; of which there were thus exported, according to a three years average, ending with 1774, the value of	—	—	—	£. 478,347
Ditto, with 1792	—	—	—	888,425
				<hr/>

been

been found to have at least the pertinacity of factiousness, if it have not the frivolousness of folly. Let all, then, who, like true philosophers, reason from facts, and deduce from experience,

“ Leave such to trifle with more grace and ease,

“ Whom *folly* pleases, or whose *follies* please.”

## C H A P. XII.

*A Review of the foregoing Documents proposed.—A supplemental Proof from a Chronological Table of Commerce.—A Commentary thereon.—The successive Epochs from 1660 to 1793.—The Tonnage of Shipping.—The Value of exported Cargoes.—The Balance of Trade.—The nett Customs.—The Amount of the Coinage in that long Period.—The Conclusion of this Review, which reflects a flattering Prospect of our future Prosperity.*

**A** REVIEW of the several documents, which are contained in the foregoing Estimate, would greatly illustrate the interesting subject of the prosperity, and populousness, of Great Britain. As a supplemental proof, I have annexed *a chronological account of commerce*, in this island, from the Restoration to the year 1793, with design to exhibit a more connected view of the weakness of its commencement, the struggles of its progression, and the greatness of its maturity, than has yet been done. This chronological *Table* will speak to the eye, while it convinces the understanding, and comforts the heart. And, the commentary on the various heads of this *Table* will furnish opportunities, which did occur before, of treating of many topics that, as they confirm the doubtful, and illustrate the dark, will throw a very pleasant light on our future prosperity, by taking a short retrospect of the past.

Of the chronological table, the eye instantly perceives the disposition of the parts, and the intellect fully comprehends the arrangement of the whole. In the first column may be seen the successive epochs, beginning with the Restoration, whence certainty may be said to commence, and ending with the year 1792. The second column gives the tonnage of the shipping, which successively sailed from England, distinguishing the English from the foreign, in order to find, in the amount of each, the salutary effects of the act of navigation. The third column contains the value of the merchandize, which were from year after year sent out, that the extent of the cargoes may be compared with the quantity of tonnage, which carried them: and, though the Scotch tonnage could not be adjoined, the value of the Scotch exports is added, because every one finds a gratification, in extending his views. The fourth column exhibits the result of our exports and imports compared, which forms what has been denominated the balance of trade. The fifth column states the nett customs, which our foreign commerce has yielded, at different periods, because, while the detail gratifies curiosity, it furnishes no inconsiderable proof of the prosperity, or decline, of our traffic. And the last column contains, what may be regarded, as the result of the whole, the sums, which have been coined in England, during every reign, from the Restoration to the 25th of March

March 1793; because *the mint*, as Sir Robert Cotton expresses it, *is the pulse of the commonwealth*.

That the progress of our traffic, and navigation, from the commencement of the seventeenth century, to the æra of the Restoration, had been remarkably rapid, all mercantile writers seem to admit. The navigation act contributed greatly to carry this advance up to the Revolution. Sir William Petty stated, in 1670, "that the shipping of England had trebled in forty years." Doctor Davenant afterwards asserted\*, "that experienced merchants did agree, that we had, in 1688, near double the tonnage of trading shipping to what we had in 1666." And Anderson † inferred, from the concurring testimony of authors on this interesting subject, "that the English nation was in the zenith of commercial prosperity at the Revolution." We have already examined how much the commercial gain of our traders was taken away by the war, which immediately followed that most important event in our annals. But the eye must be again thrown over the chronological table, if the reader wish for a more comprehensive view of the continual progress of navigation, from the station of eminence, to which Anderson had traced it; its temporary interruptions; and, notwithstanding the independence of the American states, its final exaltation, in the year 1792.

\* Vol. ii. p. 29.

† Commerce, vol. ii. p. 187.



If we compare the greatness of 1688, with the amount of 1774, 1784, and 1792, we shall discover, that the navigation of the latter epochs had reached a point of the mercantile heavens, so much more exalted than the former, as to reverse its position; as to convert what was once *the zenith* into *the nadir* now.

	Tons English.	D° foreign.	Total.
Contrast 1688 -	190,533 -	95,267 -	285,800
with 1774 -	798,240 -	65,273 -	863,513
with 1784 -	846,355 -	113,064 -	959,419
with 1792 -	1,396,003 -	169,151 -	1,565,154

The famous Mr. Gregory King calculated\*, "*that we gained annually on the freight of English shipping, in 1688,* — — — £. 810,000."

If the "*national profit on the naval trade of England, in 1688,*" amounted to £. 810,000, what ought to have been *the national profit on our naval trade, in 1774?* If 190,000 tons gained £. 810,000, 790,000 tons must have gained — £. 3,367,889.

940,000 tons, including the Scots ships, must also have gained, in 1784, — — — £. 4,060,000.

And, 1,561,158 tons, including the Scots, must have gained, in 1792, £. 6,655,463.

\* Dav. Works, vol. iv. p. 146.

This is doubtless a vast sum to be annually gained from our outward freights; but, great as it appears, in a mere mercantile light, when as large a sum is added to it, for our inward freights, the immense navigation, from whence it arises, must be considered as still more advantageous to the state, being a never-failing source, from which seamen, and transports, may be constantly drawn for the uses of war. If from the tonnage, which may be most safely followed, in discovering the benefits of our navigation, and commerce, during every age, we look into the *column of cargoes*, in the chronological table, we shall find an excellent auxiliary, in the ledger of the inspector-general, for conducting our inquiries, and forming our judgments.

To investigate the value of our exports, and of our imports, during the disturbed times of our Edwards, and Henries, or even in the more tranquil days of Elizabeth, would be a research of curiosity, rather than of use. On a subject of such difficult discussion, as no sufficient data had yet been established, the most judicious calculators could only speak in terms indefinite, and therefore unsatisfactory: yet Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child, Dr. Davenant, and Mr. Locke, all agreed in asserting, that our commerce flourished extremely from 1666 to 1688, when it had increased beyond all former example; and when its general growth, in the opinion of the most experienced merchants, was double in its magnitude at the Revolution, to  
its

its usual extent at the Restoration. In the chronological table, the value of exported commodities was adjusted for both those periods, by a standard, which seems to be thus admitted as just, by the wisest men in England.

During that day of commercial darkness, the experienced Sir Philip Meadows, whose presence for so many years did honour to the Board of Trade, sat down to form "*a general estimate of the trade of England,*" from the amount of the duties, which were paid, at the custom-house, on our importations, and on our exports. Directed by his native sagacity, he produced a statement of our commerce, on an average of the three years of war 1694—95—96; which appears now, from a comparison with the entries in the ledger of the inspector-general, to have been wonderfully exact.

The value of exports\*, according to

Sir Philip's calculation,	-	-	£. 3,124,000
D <sup>o</sup> , according to the ledger, from Michaelmas 1696 to D <sup>o</sup> 1697	-	-	<u>3,525,907</u>

\* But, Sir P. Meadows excluded from his calculation the value of butter, cheese, candles, beef, pork, and other provisions exported to the Plantations, and the value of their products imported into England, which were afterwards consumed; "being in the nature of our coast-trade among our own people." Had he included these, his statement had been still nearer in its amount to the ledger of the inspector-general.

The value of imports, according to			
him,	-	-	-
D <sup>o</sup> , according to the ledger,	-	-	-
			£. 3,050,000
			3,482,587
			<hr/>
The favourable balance of trade, ac-			
cording to him,	-	-	-
D <sup>o</sup> , according to the ledger,	-	-	-
			£. 74,000
			43,341
			<hr/>

In the foregoing detail, from which we may ascertain, by comparison, nearly the truth, we behold the inconsiderable extent of the national commerce, at the peace of Ryswick, in 1697. *If, said that able statesman, the present condition of England be not satisfactory to the public, from the general account of it here mentioned, various ways may be followed to improve it: And his suggestions having been gradually adopted, in after times, produced, at length, the wished-for effects of an active industry at home, and a prosperous navigation abroad. From that epoch, we have in the books of the inspector-general all the certainty, with regard to the annual amount of our exports, and our imports, which the nature of such complicated transactions easily admit. But, should the nation wish for more satisfactory evidence, on a subject so interesting, because it involves in it the welfare of the state, the same motion, which was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Lownds\*, during*

\* "In order to prevent this mischief [of exaggerated entries] says Davenant, a clause was offered, and very much insisted



during the reign of Queen Anne, to oblige the traders to make true entries of their cargoes, may be again proposed, and, if it can be freed from objection, carried into effect, by parliamentary regulations.

Mean time, the tonnage of shipping, which transported the superfluous products of England, has been adjoined, in the foregoing table, to the value of cargoes, in order to supply any defect of proof, and to corroborate the certainty of each, by a fair comparison of both. When Sir Philip Meadows considered, with so much attention, our commercial affairs, he gave it as his opinion, "that the advantage of trade cannot be computed by any general measure better than by that of the navigation." It requires not, indeed, the grasp of Sir Philip's mind to perceive, that the tonnage is naturally the evidence the most to be relied on, where there is any doubt: in this mode of proof there is no fiction: the entries are made at the Custom-house, on the oath of the masters; though the tonnage was supposed to contain formerly about one-third less than the truth: but, the general average being once known and admitted, we may argue from the apparent amount, with no more dread of deception, than we should expect from the notices of the most authentic record. In comparing the value of the cargoes with the ex-

insisted on by Mr. Lownds, but obstructed by the merchants, for ends not very justifiable, and the clause was not received." Dav. vol. v. Whitworth's edit. p. 443.



tent of the tonnage, as both are stated in the foregoing table, we ought to infer, that the first must always be superior in its risings, and depressions, to the last. It was with a view to that comparison and this correspondence, that the bullion, whose annual exportation for so many years frightened the gravest politicians, was deducted from the value of the transported merchandize; since it occupied little room in the tonnage, yet swelled considerably the calculation of the general cargo: But, the exported bullion was retained, in forming the balances of trade, because, though it cannot properly be considered as a manufacture, it ought nevertheless to be deemed a very valuable part of our actual wealth, which we send abroad, in expectation of a profitable return.

Thus, we see in the foregoing documents *the best evidence*, with regard to our navigation, and our trade, *that the nature of the enquiry admits*. He who wishes to satisfy his doubts, or to gain information, by throwing his eye over the state of our exports from 1696 to 1774, as it has been published by Sir Charles Whitworth, or the value of cargoes which have been exported during the present reign, as they have been arranged in the foregoing table, must perceive, that when one year furnishes a great exportation, the next supplies the foreign markets with less; the third usually sends a cargo superior to the first; and the fourth gives often a smaller quantity than the last, the amount of which however is seldom below the

level of the first. This striking variation arises chiefly from the irregularities of universal demand, since foreign fairs are sometimes empty, and sometimes full, and partly from the speculations, perhaps the caprice, of traders. And it has been shewn, from the most satisfactory proofs, that the year of profound peace, which immediately succeeds the conclusion of a lengthened war, always exhibits a great exportation, because every merchant makes haste to be rich: Thus, 1698, 1714, 1749, 1764, and 1785, form epochs of great relative traffic. But, it is from the averages of distant years, at given periods, that we can only form a decided opinion, with regard to the real prosperity, or decay, either of commerce, or of navigation: Thus, from the Restoration to the Revolution, the foreign trade of England had doubled in its amount: from the peace of Ryswick to the demise of King William, it had nearly risen in the same proportion. During the first thirty years of the current century, it had again doubled: and from the year 1750 to 1774, notwithstanding the interruptions of an eight-years intervenient war, it appears to have gained more than one-fourth. We had *four* times more trade, and *five* times more shipping, in 1792, than the nation enjoyed, in 1702\*.

Though the late war seems to have been levelled rather against the industry of the manufacturer and the projects of the merchant, than

\* See the *chronological* Table, p. 234.

against the force of our fleets, or the power of our armies; though repeated blows of unusual severity were given to our navigation, and our traffic; yet our domestic diligence pursues with unabated ardour its usual occupations; the number of our shipping at present is great beyond example; and our trade, which was said to be almost undone, still rises superior to its losses, and bids defiance to prophecy. Let these considerations comfort every lover of his country, since it is difficult to animate the despondent, and it is impossible to convince the incredulous.

If from those exhilarating topics, we turn to the column in the chronological table, which is occupied by the balance of trade, we shall find rather a more melancholy topic. No disquisition has engaged the pens of a more numerous class of writers, than that fruitful subject; who all complained of the difficulty of their labours, as they were each directed by feeble lights; and who warned their readers of the uncertainty of their conclusions, because their calculations had been formed on very disputable data.

In reviewing their performances, how amusing is it to observe, that though the sagacious Petty, and the experienced Child, the profound Temple, and the intelligent Davenant, had all taken it for granted, as a postulate, which could not be disputed, *that a balance of trade, either favourable, or disadvantageous, enriched, or impoverished, every commercial country*—a writer, as able as the ablest of them, should have at length appeared, who denied

the truth of its existence, at least of its efficacy! The late Mr. Hume seems to have written his fine *Essay on the Balance of Trade*, partly with design to throw a discredit on the declamations of Mr. Gee, "*which had struck the nation with an universal panic,*" perhaps more with the laudable purpose of convincing the public "*of the impossibility of our losing our money, by a wrong balance, as long as we preserve our people, and our industry.*"

Whatever wise men may determine with regard to this curious, perhaps important speculation, reason mean while asserts, what experience seems to confirm, "*that there is a certain quantity of bullion sent by one nation to another, to pay for what they have not been able to compensate by the barter of commodities, or by the remittance of bills of exchange; which may be therefore deemed the balance of trade.*" And a writer on political œconomy, who is equal to Mr. Hume in reach of capacity, and superior to him in accuracy of argument, the late Sir James Stewart, has examined his reasonings, and overturned his system, which is elegant in its structure, but weak in its foundation. It behoves us, therefore, to look a little more narrowly into the state of the traffic, which Britain carries on with the world, in order to discover, if possible, how much bullion she pays to each of her commercial correspondents, or how much she receives from them.

Admitting that the apparent tide of payments flowed against this island, anterior to the Revolution, it does not seem easy to discover the exact



point of time, when it began to ebb, in a contrary direction.

Sir Philip Meadows, we have seen, found a balance in our favour, on an average of the business of 1694 —5—6, of — — —	£.74,000.
The ledger of the inspector-general shewed a balance, on the traffic of 1697, of — — —	43,341.
The re-establishment of peace gave us a return, in 1698, of —	1,789,744.
But, an increase of imports reduced the balance, in 1699, to —	1,080,497.
And an augmentation of exports again raised the balance, in 1700, to — — —	<u>1,332,541.</u>

We now behold the dawn of knowledge, in respect to this interesting part of our œconomy, which has at all times been the most enveloped in darkness, and which sometimes introduced all the unpleasantness of uncertainty, and entailed too often the gloom of despondence. But, it ought to be remembered, that whether we import more than we export, is a mere question of fact, which depends on no one's opinion, since, like all other disputable facts, it may be proved by evidence.

We must recur once more to the ledger of the inspector-general of our foreign trade, as the best evidence, which the nature of the inquiry can furnish,



nish, or perhaps ought to be required. After admitting the force of every objection, that has been made against the entries at the custom-house, we may apply to that curious record of our traffic, what the Lord Chief Justice Hale \* asserted, with regard to the parish registers of births and burials, “*that it gives a greater demonstration than a hundred notional arguments can either evince or confute.*” It was from that source of accurate information, that the balances were drawn, which are inserted in the foregoing chronological table; and it requires only “*a snatch of sight*” to perceive all the fluctuations of our mercantile dealings with the world, as they were directed by our activity, or our caprice, or remissness; and to decide, with regard to the extent of our gains, at every period, by the settlement of our grand account of profit, and loss, on every commercial adventure. One truth must be admitted, which has been considered by some as a melancholy one, because they inferred from it, “*that we were driving a losing trade,*” that the apparent balance has been less favourable in the present than in the preceding reign. In order to account for this unwelcome notice, it has been insisted that, as we grew more opulent, we became more luxurious, and, as our voluptuousness increased, our industry diminished, till, in the progress of our folly, we found a delight in sacrificing our diligence, and œconomy, to

\* Origination of Mankind, p. 207.

the gratifications of a pleasurable moment, during a dissipated age.

But, declamation is oftener used to conceal the bewitching errors of sophistry, than to investigate the instructive deductions of truth. Considering the balance of trade as an interesting subject to a commercial nation, it must be deemed not only of use, but of importance, to enquire minutely which of our mercantile correspondents are our debtors, and which are our creditors; and to state, which country remits us a favourable balance, and to which we are obliged, in our turn, to pay one. Nor, is it satisfactory to contrast the general balances of different periods, in order to form general conclusions, which may be either just, or fallacious, as circumstances are attended to, or neglected. From a particular statement it will clearly appear, that we trade with the greater number of the nations of Europe on an advantageous ground; with few of them on an unfavourable one; that some states, as Italy, Turkey, and Venice, may be considered as of a doubtful kind, because they are not, in their balances, either constantly favourable, or unfavourable. To banish uncertainty from disquisition is always of importance. With this design, it is proposed to state an average of the balance of apparent payments, which were made, during the years 1771--2--3 to England, by each corresponding community, or which she made to them: and the averages of these years are taken, in order to discover the genuine balance of trade on the whole,

whole, since they seemed to be the least affected by the approaching storm. Where the scale of remittance vibrates in suspense, between the countries of doubtful payments, an average of six years is taken, deducting the adverse excesses of import, and of export, from each other.

Let us examine the following detail of our European commerce :

<i>Countries of favourable balances.</i>		<i>Countries of unfavourable balances.</i>	
Denmark and Norway	—£. 78,478	East country [doubtful]	£.100,230
Flanders	— — 780,088	Russia	— — 822,607
France	— — 190,605	Sweden	— — 117,365
Germany	— — 695,484	Turkey [doubtful]	— — 120,497
Holland	— — 1,464,149	Venice [doubtful]	— — 11,369
Italy [doubtful]	— — 43,289		<hr/>
Portugal	} — — 274,132		£. 1,172,068
Madeira	} — — 9,514		
Spain	} — — 442,539	Favourable balance	3,636,504
Canaries	} — — 23,347		
Streights	— — 113,310		
Ireland	— — 663,516		
Isle of Man	— — 13,773		
Alderney	— — 1,229		
Guernsey [doubtful]	— — 6,269		
Jersey [doubtful]	— — 8,850		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£. 4,808,572		£. 4,808,572
	<hr/>		<hr/>

Having thus fairly stated the countries of Europe, from which we receive yearly a balance on our trade, against those, to which we annually make unfavourable payments; and having found upon striking the difference, that we gained, at the commencement of the late war, a nett balance  
of

of £.3,626,504, let us now enquire what we gained, or lost, by our *factories* in Africa, and in Asia.

Africa — —	£.556,599	East Indies — —	£.1,105,511
Unfavourable balance	448,912		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£1,105,511		£1,105,511
	<hr/>		<hr/>

Having thus found an unfavourable balance on the traffic of our factories, of £.448,912, it is now time to examine the trade of our former, and present, colonies, which has too often been considered, as the only commerce worthy of our care; as if we had gained every thing, and lost nothing by it.

<i>Favourable balances.</i>		<i>Unfavourable balances.</i>	
Newfoundland [doubtful]	£.29,484	Antigua — —	£.44,168
Canada — —	187,974	Barbadoes — —	44,969
Nova Scotia — —	14,434	Carolina [doubtful] — —	108,050
New England — —	790,244	Hudson's Bay — —	2,501
New York — —	343,992	Jamaica — —	753,770
Pennsylvania — —	521,900	Montserrat — —	46,623
Virginia and Maryland [doubtful] }	165,230	Nevis — —	47,238
Georgia [doubtful] — —	360	St. Christopher's — —	149,259
Florida — —	37,966	Grenades — —	288,962
Bermudas — —	9,541	Dominica — —	158,447
	<hr/>	St. Vincent — —	104,238
	£.2,121,125	Tobago — —	16,064
		New Providence — —	2,094
		Tortola — —	23,032
		St. Croix — —	11,697
		St. Eustatia — —	5,096
		Spanish West Indies — —	35,352
		Greenland — —	18,274
		Balance — —	261,291
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£.2,121,125		£.2,121,125
	<hr/>		<hr/>

Let

Let us now recapitulate the foregoing balances :

Gained on our European commerce	—	—	—	£. 3,636,504
Deduct the loss on the trade of our factories	—	—	—	448,312
				<hr/>
				£. 3,188,192
Gained on the balance of our colony commerce	—	—	—	261,291
				<hr/>
Nett balance gained on the trade of England	—	—	—	£. 3,446,887
Nett balance gained on the trade of Scotland, according				} 435,957
to an average of 1771—2—3	—	—	—	
				<hr/>
Nett gain on the British commerce in 1771—2—3	—	—	—	£. 3,884,844
Ditto	—	—	—	in 1792
				5,776,615
				<hr/> <hr/>

Of an extensive building, we vainly attempt to form an accurate judgment of the proportion of the parts, or the beauty of the whole, without measuring the size of the columns, and examining the congruity of the result, by the suitableness of every dimension. Of the British commerce, so luxuriant in its shoots, and so interwoven in its branches, it is equally impossible to discover the total, or relative, products, without calculating the gain, or loss, that ultimately results to the nation, from every market. Thus, in the foregoing statement, we perceive, which of our European customers pay us a balance, favourable and constant; which of them are sometimes our debtors, and at other times our creditors; which of them continually draw an unfavourable balance from us: and, by opposing the averages of the profits, and losses, of every annual adventure to each other, we at length discover, from the result, the vast amount of our gains. The mercantile transactions at our factories in Africa, and Asia, were stated

against



against each other, because they seemed to be of a similar nature. But, whether we ought to consider the balance of £. 448,912 as absolutely lost, must depend on the essential circumstance, whether we consume at home the merchandizes of the East, or, by exporting them for the consumption of strangers, we draw back with interest what we had only advanced: should the nation prefer the beautiful manufactures of the Indian to her own, we ought to regard her prudence as on a level with the indiscretion of the milliner, who adorns her own person with the gaudy attire, which she had prepared for the ornament of the great and the gay. Our former colonies were stated against each other, in order to shew the relative advantage of each, as well as the real importance of the whole. Of the valuable products imported from them, which seem to form so great a balance against the nation, we ought to observe, that they are either gainful, or disadvantageous, as we apply them: we gain by the tobacco, the sugars, the spirits, the drugs, the dying-woods, which we re-export to our neighbours: we lose by what we unnecessarily waste.

The colony-war has added greatly to our ancient stock of experience, by exhibiting the state of our commerce, in various lights, as it was forced into different channels. The balance of trade has thence assumed a new appearance, as it is shewn by the custom-house books. While the exports were depressed for a time, as they had been still more by former wars, the imports rose in the same

same proportion. The value of both, from England, was,

	Exports.	Imports.
in 1781	— £.10,569,187	— £.11,918,991
82	— 12,355,750	— 9,532,607
83	— 13,851,671	— 12,114,644
84	— 14,171,375	— 14,119,166
89	— 18,843,221	— 16,408,140
90	— 18,884,716	— 17,442,448
91	— 21,435,459	— 17,688,152
92	— 23,674,316	— 17,897,700

The number of ships, which, during those years, entered inwards, have also increased fully equal to the augmented value of cargoes. But, were we to form a judgment of the balance of trade by the difference, which thus appears from the custom-house books, we should be led to manifest error. Let us take the year 1784 for an example. Thus stood

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
The East India trade	— £. 730,858	— £. 2,996,548	— £. 2,265,690
The West India trade	— 1,160,070	— 3,372,785	— 2,212,715
The Greenland trade	—	— 54,050	— 54,050
	<u>£. 1,890,928</u>	<u>£. 6,423,383</u>	<u>£. 4,532,455</u>

Yet, these £. 4,532,455, consisting of the importations from our factories, our colonies, and fishery, create no legitimate balance, however much this vast sum may deduct from the apparent balance of the custom-house account. The same statement, and the same observation, may be made with regard to the trade of Scotland. To this may be added, a melancholy truth, that we have ~~the~~ the export of corn; to the annual value of a million.

million, which is said to be owing rather to an increase of people, than to a decline of agriculture; and which passed with so much advantage into the balance of 1749—50—51. In years of scarcity, we now import large quantities of corn; and when so great a sum is taken from the one scale, and thrown into the other, the difference on the apparent balance must necessarily be immense.

Of the truth of these reasonings, and of those facts, the general exchanges, which are universally admitted to have been, for some years, extremely favourable to Great Britain, are a sufficient confirmation. When there exists no disorder in the coin, the exchange is no bad test, though it is not an absolute proof, on which side the balance of payments turns, whether against a commercial country, or for it. The vast importations of foreign coin and bullion, since the establishment of peace, prove how much and how generally the exchanges have run in favour of this enterprising nation. And the price of bullion, which, during this period, has been much lower than had ever been known, leads us to infer, that the extent of those importations has been proportionally great.

In considering the balance of trade, it is to be lamented, that we cannot obtain, from the tonnage of vessels, entering inwards, the same satisfactory information, as we have already gained from the numbers of shipping, which, having carried out the merchandizes, were brought as a confirmation of the value of exported cargoes:  
for,

for, the materials of manufacture, being much bulkier than the manufactures themselves, require a greater number of transports. It may, however, give a new view of an engaging subject, to see the tonnage of vessels, which entered inwards at different periods, compared with the supposed balance of trade.

Ships cleared outwards.—1709.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.
243,623	— 45,625	— 289,318	89,298	— 33,901	— 123,199
			Favourable balance of tonnage	- - -	- 166,119
		<u>289,318</u>			<u>289,318</u>
			Balance of merchandize sent out, exclusive of bullion	- - -	- £.1,402,764

Ships cleared outwards.—1718.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.
427,962	— 16,809	— 444,771	353,871	— 15,517	— 369,388
			Favourable balance of tonnage	- - -	- 75,383
		<u>444,771</u>			<u>444,771</u>
Unfavourable balance of merchandize sent out, exclusive of bullion	- £. 308,000				

Ships cleared outwards.—1737.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D <sup>o</sup> foreign.	Total.
476,941	— 26,627	— 503,568	374,593	— 45,409	— 420,002
			Favourable balance of tonnage	- - -	- 83,566
		<u>503,568</u>			<u>503,568</u>
			Balance of merchandize sent out, exclusive of bullion	- - -	- £.3,008,705

## Ships cleared outwards.—1751-2-3.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
612,485	— 42,593	— 655,078	435,091	— 61,303	— 496,394
			Favourable balance of ton-		
			nage	- - -	158,684
		<u>655,078</u>			<u>655,078</u>
			Balance of merchandize		
			sent out, exclusive of		
			bullion	- - -	£. 3,976,727

## Ships cleared outwards.—1771-2-3.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
711,730	— 63,294	— 775,024	608,066	— 123,870	— 731,936
			Favourable balance of ton-		
			nage	- - -	43,088
		<u>775,024</u>			<u>775,024</u>
			Balance of merchandize		
			sent out, exclusive of		
			bullion	- - -	£. 3,518,858

## Ships cleared outwards.—1784.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
846,355	— 113,064	— 959,419	869,259	— 157,168	— 1,026,427
Unfavourable balance	—	67,008			
		<u>1,026,427</u>			<u>1,026,427</u>
Balance of merchandize					
sent out	- - -	£. 52,209			

## Ships cleared outwards.—1790-1-2.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
1,329,979	— 163,778	— 1,493,757	1,250,741	— 284,843	— 1,535,584
Unfavourable balance	—	41,827			
		<u>1,535,584</u>			
			Balance of merchandize		
			sent out, exclusive of		
			bullion	- - -	£. 3,655,397

From





A m

*Epochs.*

From the foregoing facts, men will probably draw their inferences, with regard to our debility, and decline, or to our healthfulness, and advancement, according to their usual modes of thinking, to their accustomed gloominess, or hilarity, of mind, or to the effusions of the company, which they commonly keep. One party, taking it for granted, amid their anxieties, that the national commerce, domestic and foreign, is in the last stage of a consumption, may possibly attribute a supposed idleness, and inattention, to the excessive luxury, in kind the most pernicious, in extent the most extravagant, which deeply pervade every order: the other party, directed in their inquiries by an habitual cheerfulness, may perhaps determine, from the busy occupations, which they see in the shop, and the field, as to our activity and attention, the natural forerunners of prosperity, and acquisition; thinking that they perceive, in the heavy loaded ships, as they arrive, *the materials* of a manufacture, extensive and increasing. If any one wish for the aid of experience, in fixing his judgment, he need only examine the affairs of the American States, and of Ireland, during the effluxion of the last hundred years. A great balance of trade stood constantly against both those countries; yet, both have more than trebled the numbers of their people, the amount of their productive labour, the value of their exported merchandize, and the extent of their real wealth. *Fact* has, at length, interposed to give certainty to doubt; and *demonstration* has arrived to dispel gloominess, and to strengthen hope. The late Inspector-Ge-

# A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT of COMMERCE in this ISLAND, from the RESTORATION to the YEAR 1800 inclusive.

Epochs.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of Cargoes Exported.			Balance of Trade.			Nett Customs paid into the Exchequer.	Money Coined.
	Tons English.	D <sup>s</sup> Foreign.	Total.	English.	Scotch.	Total.	English.	Scotch.	Total.		
The Restoration, 1663	95,266	47,634	142,900	£. 2,043,043	—	£. 2,043,043	Unfavourable.	—	—	£. 390,000	By Charles II. - - - £. 7,524,105
The Revolution, 1688	190,533	95,267	285,800	4,086,087	—	4,086,087	Doubtful.	—	—	551,141	By James II. - - - - 2,737,637
Peace of Ryfwick, 1697	144,264	100,524	244,788	3,525,907	—	3,525,907	£. 43,320	—	£. 43,320	694,892	£. 10,261,742
Last Years of William III. 1700-02	273,693	43,635	317,328	6,045,432	—	6,045,432	1,386,832	—	1,386,832	1,474,861	By William III. - - - £. 10,511,963
Wars of Anne, 1709-12	243,693	45,625	289,318	5,913,357	—	5,913,357	2,116,451	—	2,116,451	1,257,332	By Anne, - - - - £. 2,691,626
1712	326,620	29,115	355,735	6,868,840	—	6,868,840	3,014,175	—	3,014,175	1,315,423	
First of George I. 1713-15	421,431	26,573	448,004	7,696,573	—	7,696,573	1,504,151	—	1,904,151	1,588,162	By George I. - - - £. 8,725,921
1726-28	452,832	23,651	456,483	7,891,739	—	7,891,739	3,514,768	—	3,514,768	1,621,331	
Peaceful Years, 1736-38	476,941	26,627	503,568	9,993,232	—	9,993,232	4,042,502	—	4,042,502	1,492,009	
War of - - - 1739-41	384,191	87,260	471,451	8,870,499	—	8,870,499	2,455,313	—	2,455,313	1,399,865	
Peaceful Years, 1749-51	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112	—	12,599,112	6,521,964	—	6,521,964	1,565,942	
War of - - - 1755-57	451,254	73,456	524,710	11,708,315	663,401	12,371,916	4,046,465	—	4,046,465	1,763,314	By George II. { Gold, £. 11,662,216 Silver, - 304,360 £. 11,966,576
First of George III. 1760-62	471,241	102,737	573,978	14,694,970	1,086,205	15,781,175	5,746,270	235,412	5,981,682	1,969,934	
63	508,220	117,835	626,055	14,873,191	1,165,722	16,038,913	6,822,051	417,082	7,239,133	1,866,152	
64	480,444	120,126	600,570	13,545,171	998,165	14,543,336	5,263,858	289,240	5,553,098	1,858,417	
65	561,724	87,293	649,017	14,487,507	1,091,436	15,578,943	4,495,146	187,545	4,682,691	2,249,604	
66	583,934	74,800	658,734	16,512,404	1,243,927	17,756,331	6,148,096	357,575	6,505,671	2,169,473	
67	651,402	67,855	719,257	14,550,507	1,180,867	15,731,374	3,660,764	258,466	3,919,230	2,271,231	
68	684,281	61,753	746,034	14,024,964	1,163,704	15,188,668	2,549,189	182,715	2,731,904	2,448,280	
69	645,835	63,206	709,041	13,344,511	1,245,490	15,090,001	1,770,555	222,293	1,992,848	2,355,850	
70	668,786	72,734	741,520	15,117,983	1,502,150	16,620,133	3,239,322	265,501	3,504,823	2,445,016	
71	709,855	63,020	772,875	13,438,236	1,563,053	15,001,289	1,529,676	337,523	1,867,199	2,639,086	
72	703,495	57,476	760,971	14,266,654	1,729,915	15,996,569	2,049,716	514,556	2,564,272	2,546,144	
73	773,390	63,532	836,922	17,161,147	1,857,334	19,018,481	4,139,151	471,005	4,610,156	2,642,129	
74	818,108	72,603	890,711	16,159,413	1,560,756	17,720,169	2,860,961	350,492	3,211,453	2,555,996	
75	771,483	54,820	826,303	14,712,253	1,612,175	16,324,428	3,135,642	496,376	3,632,018	2,390,017	
76	798,240	65,273	863,513	15,916,344	1,372,143	17,288,487	2,888,678	169,806	3,058,484	2,567,770	
77	783,225	64,860	848,085	15,202,366	1,123,998	16,326,364	2,275,003	2,275,003	2,275,003	2,348,131	
78	778,878	72,188	851,066	13,729,726	1,025,973	14,755,699	2,962,342	279,292	3,241,716	2,480,403	
79	756,234	83,468	839,702	12,653,363	837,643	13,491,006	1,472,996	353,899	1,826,895	2,229,106	
80	657,238	98,113	755,351	11,551,070	702,820	12,253,890	1,379,053	—	1,379,053	2,162,681	
81	590,911	139,124	730,035	12,693,430	837,273	13,530,703	2,792,133	62,501	2,854,634	2,502,274	
82	619,462	134,515	753,977	11,622,333	1,022,039	12,644,372	1,688,494	99,315	1,787,809	2,723,920	
83	547,953	163,410	711,363	10,569,187	763,109	11,332,296	—	—	—	2,791,428	
84	552,851	208,511	761,362	12,355,750	653,709	13,009,459	2,523,143	—	2,523,143	2,861,563	
85	795,669	157,969	953,638	13,851,671	829,824	14,681,495	1,737,027	—	1,737,027	2,848,320	
86	846,355	113,064	959,419	14,171,375	929,900	15,101,275	523,209	—	523,209	3,326,639	
87	951,855	103,398	1,055,253	15,762,593	1,007,635	16,770,228	862,650	—	862,650	4,592,091	
88	982,132	116,771	1,098,903	15,383,987	914,738	16,300,725	775,824	—	775,824	4,076,911	
89	1,104,711	132,243	1,236,954	17,181,032	1,115,134	18,296,166	845,935	—	845,935	3,673,807	
90	1,243,206	121,932	1,365,138	16,934,994	1,189,088	18,124,082	383,939	—	383,939	3,780,770	
91	1,343,800	99,858	1,443,658	18,843,221	1,170,076	20,013,297	2,335,082	—	2,335,082	3,710,343	
92	1,267,828	144,132	1,411,960	18,584,716	1,235,404	19,820,120	1,442,267	—	1,442,267	3,782,822	
93	1,333,106	178,051	1,511,157	21,354,459	1,296,535	22,650,994	3,743,377	—	3,743,377	3,952,507	
94	1,396,003	169,151	1,565,154	23,674,316	1,230,884	24,905,200	5,776,615	—	5,776,615	4,027,230	
95	1,101,326	180,121	1,281,447	19,365,428	1,024,751	20,390,179	1,542,154	—	1,542,154	3,978,645	
96	1,247,398	209,679	1,457,077	25,663,272	1,084,811	26,748,083	4,818,273	—	4,818,273	3,565,117	
97	1,030,058	370,238	1,400,296	26,146,346	976,991	27,123,337	4,677,977	—	4,677,977	3,569,360	
98	1,108,258	454,847	1,563,105	29,196,190	1,322,723	30,518,913	7,373,480	—	7,373,480	4,934,416	
99	971,596	379,775	1,351,371	27,699,889	1,217,121	28,917,010	8,179,016	—	8,179,016	3,651,757	
1800	1,163,534	345,132	1,508,666	31,922,580	1,669,197	33,591,777	5,908,419	—	5,908,419	2,967,504	
	1,145,314	390,612	1,535,926	34,074,098	1,916,630	35,990,728	9,599,356	—	9,599,356	7,538,355	
	1,269,329	654,713	1,924,042	40,805,947	2,346,069	43,152,016	12,448,135	133,278	12,581,413	6,799,755	

The Total of the present Reign: 32,480,932





neral of the Customs, Mr. Irving, whose services to the public will not soon be forgotten; and who, indeed, ought never to be mentioned but with praise; stated to the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Lords, from the details before him, that our *balance of trade*, according to a four years average, ended in January 1796, amounted to *ten million and a half*, yearly; including, indeed, four million, as the annual profits of our East, and West, India trades; and supposing, that the value of British manufactures exported, exceeded the Custom-house value, about *thirty* per cent.—But, it has, since, been ascertained, by the duties collected under the convoy act, that the value of British manufactures exported, exceed the Custom-house value by *forty* per cent.

From the balance of trade, which, as an interesting subject, seemed to merit ample discussion, it is proper to advert to *the column of customs*, in the chronological table; because we may derive a supplemental proof of the successive increase of our trade, of our commercial knowledge, and of our real opulence. These duties had their commencement from the act of tonnage and poundage, at the Restoration, when the whole customs did not much exceed £.400,000. This law, which imposed 5 *per cent.* of the value on goods *exported*, as well as on goods imported, on *domestic manufactures*, as well as on foreign merchandizes; and which laid particular taxes on *our own woollens*, and double taxes on all goods, when sent out by aliens; was surely framed by no very judicious plan, though two and a half  
*per*

*per cent.* of the value were allowed to be drawn back on goods that, having been imported, should be sent out in a twelvemonth. The publications of Mun, of Fortrey, and of Child, soon after the Restoration, diffused more universal acquaintance with commercial legislation. The alien duties on the export of native commodities, and domestic manufactures, were judiciously repealed, in 1673. The taxes on the exportation of woollens, of corn, meal, and bread, were happily removed in 1700. Yet, it was not till 1722 that, on a systematic consideration of the burdens, which obstructed trade, all duties on the export of British manufactures were withdrawn, except on a few articles, which, being regarded as *materials*, were still to be sent to rival nations with discouragements. These meliorations were doubtless considerable incentives to exportation, by enabling the merchants to send the goods so much cheaper to market. But, the imports were discouraged then, and have been successively burdened with new subsidies, and additional duties, till the nett revenue of customs, after various improvements, swelled to £.4,027,230, in 1792\*, and to  
 £.7,538,355

\* When the eye is thrown over the column of Customs, in the Chronological Table, especially since the year 1785, it immediately perceives inequalities, in the produce of particular years, which were owing to particular causes. Suspended duties, which were due from the East India Company, in the years 1782, and 1783, were paid in 1785, and in 1786. The regulations of *wine*, which took place on the 5th of July 1786, and on tobacco, the 10th of October 1789, made great changes in

£.7,538,355 since, in the progress of war, and taxation.

The column of coinage was introduced, in the last place, as its proper station; because the increase of coins, by means of the operations of the mint, arise generally from the profits of commerce, at least from the demand of circulation: and of consequence, the quantity of circulating money must, in every country, be in proportion, nearly, to the extent of business, or frequency of transfers. The fears of men, with regard to a wrong balance of trade, have not been at any time greater than the continual dread of a total deprivation of our coins. And both have produced a numerous class of writers, who have published their theories, not so much, perhaps, to enlighten the world, as to give vent to their lamentations.

While the rents of the land were paid in its products; while the freemen contributed personal service, instead of a specified tax; and while the arts had not yet been divided into their classes, there would be little use for the convenient measure of coins. The conversion of almost every service, and duty, into a payment of money marks a considerable change in our domestic affairs. And in proportion as refinement gained ground of rude-  
the customs. And, by the Consolidation-Act, which commenced in 1787, a considerable advantage was gained for the revenue of customs, as well as for the promotion of trade, by the beneficial arrangement of the duties. The increase of the customs is, in other respects, to be attributed to the augmentation of commerce, and to the prevention of smuggling, and also, to additional taxes, during the late war.

ness, as industry prevailed over idleness, as manufacture found its way into the nation, and as commerce extended its operations and its influence, coins must have become more numerous, in the subsequent ages; because they were more necessary. From the happy accession of Elizabeth, we may trace with sufficient certainty the progress and extent of our public coinage.

Coined by Queen Elizabeth, including the debased silver of the three preceding reigns	—	in gold —	£. 1,200,000	
		in silver —	4,612,912	
			<hr/>	£. 5,832,932
By King James	—	in gold —	£. 800,000	
		in silver —	1,700,000	
			<hr/>	2,500,000
By Charles I.	—	in gold —	£. 1,723,000	
		in silver —	8,776,544	
			<hr/>	£. 10,499,544
By the Parliament and Cromwell, in silver	—	—	—	1,000,000
				<hr/>
Total coined, during a century, from 1558, to 1659 <sup>a</sup> ,		in gold —	£. 3,723,000	
		in silver —	16,109,476	
			<hr/>	£. 19,832,476
Coined by Charles II.	—	—	£. 7,524,105	
by James II.	—	—	2,737,637	
			<hr/>	£. 10,261,742
by William III. (including the re-coinage)	—	—	—	<sup>b</sup> £. 10,511,963
by Anne	—	—	—	<sup>d</sup> 2,691,626
by George I.	—	—	—	<sup>c</sup> 8,725,921
by George II. from 1726 to 1760		in gold —	£. 11,562,216	
		in silver —	304,360	
			<hr/>	11,966,576
Total coined during a century, from 1659 to 1760	—	—	—	£. 44,157,828
Coined by George III. before the 1st January 1785		in gold —	£. 30,457,805	
		in silver —	7,126	
			<hr/>	£. 30,464,931
Coined from the 1st January 1785, to the 31st December 1800		in gold —	£. 32,424,576	
		in silver —	56,359	
			<hr/>	£. 32,480,935
The Total, in the present reign	—	—	—	£. 62,945,866

<sup>a</sup> And. Com. vol. ii. p. 107. <sup>b</sup> Ralph Hist. vol. i. p. 1078. <sup>c</sup> Campbell's Survey. <sup>d</sup> Ibid. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. <sup>f</sup> Tower Records. <sup>g</sup> Mint account.

It did not, however, escape the penetration of Davenant, or perhaps the sagacity of preceding writers,—“*that all this money was not co-existing at any one time:*” and he, therefore, endeavoured, with his usual industry, to ascertain the probable amount of our circulation, or the number of our coins, during every period, to which either his *conjecture*, or his *calculation*, could reach.

In 1600, as he states\*, there probably existed,

in gold £.1,500,000

in silver 2,500,000

————— £. 4,000,000;

*which were the tools, said he, we had to work with, when we first began to make a figure in the commercial world.*

In 1660, there were only, in all likelihood, co-existing, of every preceding coinage, —

£.14,000,000.

Sir William Petty †, who lived nearer the time, and had better information, asserts, “that the re-coinage at the happy Restoration amounted to £.5,600,600; whereby it is probable (some allowance being given for hoarded money) that the whole cash of England was then about — — —

£. 6,000,000;

which, he conceived, was sufficient to drive the trade of England.”

And, a consideration of the progress of our commerce, from 1600 to 1660, as well as the extent of our mercantile transactions, will enable us to decide, which of the calculators was most accurate in his statement, and most satisfactory in his inference. Sir Josiah Child indeed remarked, in 1666 ‡, “*that all sorts of men complain much of the scarcity of money;*

\* Whit. edit. vol. i. p. 364.

† Pol. Arith. p. 278.

‡ And. Com. vol. ii. p. 142.



yet, that men did complain as much of a scarcity of money, ever since I knew the world; for, *that this humour of complaining proceeds from the frailty of our natures*, it being natural for mankind to complain of the present, and to commend the times past." That experienced merchant attributed "*the pressing necessity for money, so visible throughout the kingdom*, to the trade of banking, which obstructs circulation, and advances usury." And, from Child's State of the Nation, during several years, subsequent to the Restoration, we may infer, that Petty was nearer the truth, in his representation, than Davenant.

If the amount of our traffic, foreign and domestic, doubled in the active period, between the Restoration and the Revolution, we ought from that circumstance to conclude, that the quantity of circulating coin ought to have been in the proportion of six to twelve; consequently,

If there had been, in 1660	—	£. 6,000,000,
There ought to have been in 1688	12,000,000 :	
Yet, after a variety of <i>conjectures</i> and <i>calculations</i> , Davenant states*		
it at	— — —	18,500,000;

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which, he insisted, was altogether necessary for carrying on our foreign, and domestic, traffic. But, the result of those conjectures, and of those calculations, derives little support, and less authenticity, from the facts before-mentioned; which shewed,

\* Whit. edit. vol. i. p. 367.

that a country, which, for so many years paid considerable balances to the world, could not abound in coins. And there was a circumstance of still greater weight, that seems to have been little attended to by historians, or by theorists: a rise in the interest of money evinces a scarcity of specie; at least it demonstrates, that the supply is not sufficient for every demand. The *natural* interest of money was eight *per cent.* from 1624 to 1645; and it from this year gradually fell to six *per cent.* before the Restoration; so that the Parliament were enabled, in 1650, to fix by ordinance the *legal* interest at six *per cent.*\*; which was confirmed by statute at the Restoration †. But, the *natural* interest of money gradually rose again, from six *per cent.* in 1660, to seven pounds six shillings and six-pence in 1690; and from this year to seven pounds ten shillings *per cent.* before the peace of Ryswick. From 1697, the natural interest of money gradually sunk, before the year 1706, to six *per cent.*; and continuing to fall, the Parliament were, thereby, induced [1713] to fix, by statute, the *legal* interest at five *per cent.* Yet,

In 1711, Davenant states, “that there might be of gold and silver coin in being,”	to the amount of	-	-	£. 12,000,000
In 1688, he had already found		-		18,500,000
Decrease in three-and-twenty years				£. 6,500,000

\* And. Com. vol. ii. p. 85.

† 12 Ch. II. c. 13.

It is highly probable, however, that the value of the circulating coins might amount to £.12,000,000 in 1711. The gradual advance of our domestic industry, and foreign traffic, the reform of the silver coin, the consequent augmentation of taxes, and circulation, the greater credit, both public and private, the sinking of the *natural* interest of money; all demonstrate the impossibility of any diminution of our coins, during the period, from the Revolution to the year 1711. Anderson\*, having given his suffrage to Davenant's statement of 1711, says, "that we may reasonably conclude, as our trade is considerably increased in fifty-one years, the gold and silver actually existing in Britain [1762] cannot be less than - - - £.16,000,000:"

And we may fairly infer, from the reasonings of Anderson, that the gold and silver coins actually existing now [1786] amount to upwards of - - - £.24,000,000.

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We have seen, during the present reign, an extraordinary augmentation of our manufactures, and our trade, a quicker transfer of property, a vast credit, a productive revenue, an unexampled demand at the mint for its coins; which all evince a greater use for money; and, consequently, a proportional supply. Speculation has been actually confirmed by facts, and experience. When, by an admirable

\* Commerce, vol. ii. p. 105.

operation, a salutary reform was made of the gold coin, there appeared, in consequence of that measure, a much greater quantity of circulating specie, than speculists had supposed, in opposition to experience.

The three proclamations—of 1773—of 1774—and 1776, brought in, of defective gold coin, the value, in tale, of - - £.15,563,593.

There, moreover, were three several sums of foreign gold, and light guineas, sent to the mint, by the Bank of England, from the end of 1771, to the end of 1777 — 5,200,723.

The total re-coined — £.20,764,316.

There remained, in the circle, heavy guineas of the former, and present, reign, light guineas, which were not brought in, and silver — — £. 2,055,763.

There also were about two millions of light guineas sent to America during the war, valued at — — 2,000,000.  
£.24,820,079.\*

\* Lord Auckland's Letters, p. 215; Mr. Rose's Brief Examination, sixth edition, App. No. 4.

If, from the amount of the coinage		
of the present reign	—	£.62,945,866,
the sum of the re-coinage, at the		
end of 1777, be deducted	-	<u>20,764,316;</u>

we shall see, in the result, the sum,  
 which the increasing demand of  
 the present reign required, at the  
 mint, exclusive of the re-coinage £.42,181,550.

It is not easy to discover, because proper data cannot be readily found, what proportion of the coins, which constituted, in tale, this vast balance, was afterwards melted, or exported. If one-fourth only was withdrawn from the circle of commerce, this circumstance alone, when compared with the quantity of money which, in 1777, was actually found in circulation, would demonstrate the existence of a greater number of coins; and, consequently, the amount, in tale, of £.31,636,152, in gold, and in silver, about £.2,250,000, to animate our traffic, in daily use\*. One truth is, however, clear, “*that every community, which has an equivalent to give, may always procure as many of the precious metals, wherever they may exist, as it wants*”; in the same manner as the individual, who has labour, or any other property, to offer in exchange, may at all times fill his coffers with medals, or with coins.

\* Such was the opinion of the Lords of the Committee of the most honourable Privy Council, appointed for considering the state of the coin. Report, p. 2—5.

Hence,



Hence, we may conclude with Mr. Hume, and with subsequent writers, on political œconomy, who were equal in judgment to him, that while we preserve our people, our skill, and our industry, we may allow the specie to find its own way in the world, without any other protection, than what is due to the justness of our standard, in fineness and weight, or any other care, than to give continual notice to the credulous, to beware of the tricks of the clipper, the sweater, and the coiner.

In this manner have I reviewed the *Chronological Table*, with regard to our Shipping, our Exports, the Balance of our Trade, the Revenue of Customs, and the successive operations of the Mint. The *Chronological Table* gives, as it were, a bird's-eye view of our whole commercial concerns, from the Restoration to the present time, a long and busy period, of domestic dispute, and foreign war. And, the *Chronological Table* exhibits a retrospective mirror of our traffic, and revenue, which reflects a very flattering prospect of our future prosperity, with regard to both. We may now address the *despondent* with the gaiety of SWIFT :

“ Canst thou take delight in viewing  
 This poor isle's approaching ruin,  
 When thy *retrospection* vast  
 Sees the glorious ages past ?  
 Happy nation, were we blind,  
 Or had only eyes behind !

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Prosperity of Great Britain from 1783 to 1793.*  
—*The Causes assigned.*—*The East India Trade.*—  
*The Fisheries encouraged.*—*The New Navigation*  
*Act.*—*Foreign Treaties.*—*Manufactories promoted.*  
—*Agriculture encouraged.*—*A thousand Laws for*  
*local Improvements.*—*Revenue Acts.*—*Financial*  
*Operations.*—*Their salutary Consequences.*

SO prosperous have our affairs been, from the conclusion of the peace of 1783, to the commencement of the late war, that curiosity naturally desires to trace up the causes to their true sources. In order to gratify this desire, I propose to run over, rather than develope, the principal measures, which have chiefly contributed to raise this nation, from a condition of great despondency, at the first epoch, to a state of unrivalled prosperoufness, at the last. And, I shall arrange those measures, 1st, as they tended to promote the private revenue of the people; and, 2dly, as they were proposed to enlarge the public revenue of the nation.

The affairs of the East India company, which, like the affairs of the state, were no doubt greatly deranged, at the re-establishment of peace, in 1784, divided our parties, in respect to the mode of restoring them.

Our

Our divisions on this head, were soon settled by several acts of parliament \*, for regulating, rather than suppressing, the company, for controuling its government, rather than destroying its powers. If to these laws, we add the Commutation Act †, which gave the company great facility in the sale of its tea, and the fair trader still greater advantages over the smuggler, we shall have a view sufficiently distinct of those measures, which, we shall immediately find, produced the happiest effects. The credit of the company rose, in proportion as the directors were enabled to fulfil their engagements. They divided 8 *per cent.* to their proprietors; they paid their debts to the public, even sooner, than the most sanguine had expected: and, before September 1786, they were able to reduce the interest on their bond-debts, at home, from 5 *per cent.* to 4, with an avowal, that the creditors, who did not choose to accept of the reduced interest, should be paid the principal of their debts ‡. The value of British goods, which were yearly sent to China was, in the year 1792, £.626,000, though in 1783, and 84, the amount had only been

\* 24 G. III. ch. 34.—26 G. III. ch. 62.

† 24 G. III. ch. 38.

‡ The India Stock was,

in December 1783, at 120.

in December 1784, at 127.

in December 1785, at 155.

in December 1786, at 166.

in December 1792, at 191.

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£.120,000.

£.120,000. The shipping, which yearly sailed to China, according to a six years average, ending with 1792, carried 17,981 tons, though in the six years ending with 1783, the annual tonnage of the China ships was only 6,059. And there was an yearly increase, upon the fair importation of teas, of 12,503,459 pounds\*.—The whole quantity of shipping employed annually in the India trade, according to a six years average, ending with 1776,

was,	-	-	-	-	12,071 tons.
D°, ending with 1792	-	-	-	-	<u>26,033</u>

The whole value of British manufactures exported annually to India, according to a six years average, ending with 1774,

was,	-	-	-	-	£. 907,240
D°, ending with 1792,	-	-	-	-	<u>1,921,955</u>

Such was the beneficial result of the several measures, for regulating the India Company, with regard to our shipping, and manufactures, to the gains of individuals, and to the revenue of the nation!

All these were equally promoted by the various

* The annual importation, according to a twelve years average, ending with 1784, was	-	-	-	-	lib. 5,605,074
D°, according to a six years average, ending with 1792	-	-	-	-	<u>18,108,533</u>
The annual augmentation	-	-	-	-	<u>lib. 12,503,459</u>

laws,

laws, which were passed, for encouraging our nautical interests. The home fisheries were promoted. The Greenland fishery was encouraged. The Newfoundland fishery was regulated. The South-whale fishery was, in a great measure, created. And, all these, owing to the enterprize of our traders, and the encouragement of the legislature \*, were carried to such an extent, that they may be said to have sunk under their own greatness, as must ever happen, when the ultimate demand for the products is not equal to the immediate supply. The nautical interests of the country were so much considered, and so effectually protected, by the act for *the increase of shipping*, that this statute will be for ever regarded, with thankful recollection, as the great charter of our navigation, which created the authentic register of our naval prosperity †.

Additional employment was given to our ships, and our seamen, by means of our treaties with foreign nations. The commercial agreement with France, in 1786, opened a wide field for the adventures of our traders. Our conventions with Spain, by adding more certainty to our commercial enterprizes, in the other hemisphere, gave new occupations to our industrious classes at home. Our treaties with Prussia, and with Holland, had their

\* By 26 Geo. III. ch. 41, 45, 50, 81; 27 Geo. III. ch. 10; 28 Geo. III. ch. 20.

† 26 Geo. III. ch. 60; and 26 Geo. III. ch. 86; and 27 Geo. III. ch. 19,

facilities,



facilities, which communicated energy to our traffic \*. And, the renewment of our commercial treaty with Russia has added stability to our commerce, in that country, which before was rather uncertain.

Mean time our several manufactories were greatly promoted by the several laws, which were made, year after year, for their encouragement †.

Agriculture was, at the same time, incited by the various measures, which were adopted, for giving energy, and effect, to her operations. The forfeited estates in Scotland were restored ‡. The crown lands were made more useful to the individual, and the public. The growth of hemp and flax was further encouraged §. And, the corn laws, that lay in a state of confusion through many statutes, were reduced into a system, which had for its end, the interests, properly understood, both of the grower, and consumer ¶. Had these laws produced no other benefit to the country, than establishing an effectual mode, for ascertaining the average price of

\* See the treaties, which are mentioned above, in the Collection of Treaties, that was published by Stockdale, in 1790.

† In the ten years, ending with 1793, there were twenty-nine statutes passed, for the encouragement of several manufactures, exclusive of one hundred and fourteen acts, for the encouragement of commerce. See the Statute-book.

‡ 24 Geo. III. ch. 57.

§ By 26 Geo. III. ch. 43.

¶ 31 Geo. III. ch. 30.—23 Geo. III. ch. 55.

corn, and thereby preventing causeless alarm, they had merited the praise of most useful regulations.

During the ten sessions, which ended with that of 1793, the Parliament, with unexampled diligence, enacted no fewer than *one thousand, nine hundred, and thirty-four distinct statutes*, for promoting, in various ways, the true interest of the people. Of these, there were 625 private and 1309 public acts; there were twenty-nine for improving manufactures; one hundred and fourteen for commercial purposes: and, above all, there were sixty-six for improving, and strengthening, our constitutional system, during a period, when it was supposed, that the constitution, like our neglected mansions, was falling fast into ruins, without the slightest repairs.

In addition to all those laws, for promoting the private revenue of the people, there passed in the eight years, ending with 1792, *seven hundred and fifty Acts of Parliament*, for making local improvements, and domestic meliorations. Of this remarkable fact, here is a curious proof, from the Statute-book, in the following

TABLE; shewing the Number of ACTS of Parliament, which passed, in each of the following Years, for making Roads and Bridges, &c.; Canals and Harbours, &c.; for Inclosures and Draining, &c.; for Paving and other Parochial Improvements.

	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	Total.
Roads, Bridges, &c.	31	40	30	37	36	30	44	54	302
Canals, Harbours, &c.	7	4	3	5	6	9	12	17	64
Inclosures, Draining, &c.	22	25	19	30	36	27	39	41	245
Paving, and other Parochial Improvements	20	14	14	14	10	20	20	19	139
The Total	80	83	66	92	86	86	116	131	750

There is, moreover, a class of statutes, which, as they at once promote the private revenue of the people, and the public revenue of the nation, are of an amphibious nature. Of this kind were the acts, for regulating, and controuling, the India Company. We have seen what an augmentation of shipping they created; what an increase of British manufactures they sent out; and, in addition to these commercial benefits, how much they enabled the Company to satisfy their debts to the public\*. Of this mixed kind also was the commutation act, which, by destroying smuggling, and facilitating fair

\* Of those debts, there were paid in 1785, £.401,118. 17. 1.; and in 1786 £.522,700. 7. 6.; amounting to £923,519. 4. 7.

trade, gave rise to a great private commerce, while it brought a large contribution to the public revenue\*.

Much of this merit has the consolidation act, which facilitates commerce, by its simplifications, and enriches the public income, by its contributions †. The various acts against smuggling, as far as they enlarge fair trade, and make the established taxes more productive, are entitled to equal praise. The wine act ‡, and the tobacco act §, are both entitled to this commendation. The various improvements in the post-office, fairly merit, yet greater laud. We could have little trade, without the post-office, which, by means of trade, yields a vast revenue to the nation. As a proof of this, and of the great augmentation of our commercial cor-

\* The immediate effect of this efficient measure, was the legal importation of an additional quantity of tea, amounting to 12,503,459 lb. a year. The collateral consequences were, as we have seen, a vast export of British manufactures, and a great employment of British shipping.

† Those contributions amounted, in 1792, to £.75,434; exclusive of the benefits, which that act did to trade, which are to be inferred from the vast increase of the imports and exports.

‡ The increased quantity of wine imported, in consequence of that act, was 16,694 tons a year, which yielded an increased and nett revenue of £.290,143.

§ While this act promoted the real interest of the fair trader, it augmented the public revenue at least £.154,000 a year.

respondence,

reſpondence, ſee the ſubjoined ſtatement of the *groſs* revenue of the poſt-office, in the following years, ending on the

5 April 1786	- £.471,176	—	5 April 1787	- £.474,347
D <sup>o</sup> - 1788	- 509,131	—	D <sup>o</sup> - 1789	- 514,538
D <sup>o</sup> - 1790	- 533,198	—	D <sup>o</sup> - 1791	- 575,079
D <sup>o</sup> - 1792	- 585,432	—	D <sup>o</sup> - 1793	- 607,268

But, of all the meaſures, which have been juſt deſcribed, as of an amphibious nature, the ſinking-fund, which began to work, in the three months, that ended on the 31ſt October 1786, has produced the greateſt facility to individuals, and benefit to the public:—To individuals, by creating a rapid circulation, and plenty of money, for the uſes of buſineſs, by raiſing at once the value of the produce of our land, and labour, and the price of the funds: To the public, by diſincumbering the nation, before the 1ſt of February 1793, of £. 10,109,400; when the ſinking-fund itſelf had increaſed to £. 1,669,582. a year.

Such were the various means, which were wiſely adopted for promoting the revenue of the people, ſince 1783, either by direct encouragement, or by incidental help. Let us now take a ſlight view of the revenue of the nation, during its depression, in 1784; of the meaſures, which were adopted for raiſing it; and of the reſult, during its exaltation,



though the retrospect seldom affords the pleasures of the prospect.

There was, at that epoch, a vast unfunded debt of nine-and-twenty millions, which pressed down the value of the public funds, and even prevented the productiveness of the national income.

The yearly interest of the funded debt, on the		
5th Jan. 1784, was	— — —	£. 8,000,284
The yearly interest of exchequer bills was	—	260,000
The annual charges on the aggregate fund, and		
the appropriated duties, were	— —	1,040,000
The usual establishments were about	—	4,000,000
		<hr/>
The total to be provided for	—	£.13,300,284

For the discharge of this great sum, there		
was only the permanent income, on the		
5th of Jan. 1784, amounting to	—	£.9,671,206
The annual land and malt taxes about	2,560,000	
		<hr/>
		12,231,206

The total of the annual deficiency in 1784— £.1,069,078

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Such was nearly the state of the national account of expenditure, and income, during the unpropitious period of 1784, while the unfunded debt depressed the whole system of our funds, and credit\*!

The same means, which were, at that epoch, employed to depress the nation, eventually promot-

\* The three *per cent.* consols, which had risen to 69, in March, 1783, fell to 54½, but rose to 58, in 1784, and fluctuated nearly at that rate till July 1785.

ed its falvation. So much was faid of the ruin of the country, that the country was almost perfuaded, that it was indeed on the verge of ruin. Yet, when the nation was, by thofe means, convinced, that effectual meafures were neceffary, the bufinefs of faving it, was more than half atchieved.

The moft efficient meafure, for obtaining this great end, was to fund, in the years 1784, and 1785, the floating debts of the navy, of the victualling, and of the ordnance, departments, to fo great an amount, as to require taxes, which produced £. 938,000, for paying the intereft. At the fame time, that new taxes were impofed, fyftematic meafures were effectually purfued, for improving the collection of the old, which is ever the beft œconomy. Some of the laws, for that falutary purpofe, have been already noticed. The fmuggling-act, the commutation act, and other fimilar laws, have been alfo mentioned, as wife meafures, which at once promoted the private income of individuals, and the public revenue of the nation. And, the beneficial effects evince, that they were attended with the moft falutary confequences.

The best proof of this may be found in the public accounts of the national income, and expenditure, during the year 1786 :

The nett payments into the exchequer, in the twelvemonth, which ended on the 5th Jan. 1786, £.15,397,471  
 The expenditure, in this period, was 14,478,181

The annual surplus of the income\* £. 919,290

By those measures, the nation was now saved. This also, was the epoch of the sinking-fund, which carried salvation up to prosperity. There were other duties added to that surplus of income ; so as to make that fund an efficient million a year. To this large sum were added such annuities for years, and lives, as might expire, in the effluxion of time. And, to the whole was thrown in some casual sums, for giving greater effect to its progressive operations. Such was the sinking fund, which was, at that epoch, invariably appropriated, for buying quarterly such of the public securities, as should appear to be most depreciated, and thereby to offer the best bargain to the commissioners, who were appointed to buy them, on behalf of the public. Before the first of August 1794, there had been received into this fund, since its

\* See the report of the select committee for examining the accounts of the public income and expenditure, 21st March 1796.

establishment, £.10,599,265, which were laid out by the commissioners, in purchasing various public securities, amounting to £.13,617,895\*. This, then, was the amount of the national debt, which had been by those means, paid off, before the first of August 1794. The sum, which was laid out for that purpose, during the preceding quarter, amounted to £.408,363. And, if we were to form a judgment, from this great sum, which was thus applied, we might infer, that the sinking-fund had, in no long period, nearly doubled itself, by the productive operations of compound interest, with some additional aids.

This sinking-fund not only raised the price of the public securities, by creating a constant demand for them, but it promoted the industrious pursuits of the people, by keeping circulation full, and it thereby made the permanent income more

\* The general average, at which that great capital was purchased, was  $77\frac{1}{8}$  per cent. It is curious to observe the operations of the sinking-fund, during those times, when we enjoyed peace, and were threatened with hostilities, from the prices, which were paid by the commissioners for the 3 per cent. consols, in every quarter.—The first quarter, ended on the 31st of October 1786, during which the consols. were purchased at  $77\frac{1}{4}$ : The prices fluctuated, in the following quarters, as under:—

1787.		1788.		1789.		1790.		1791.		1792.		1793.		
Qr.		Pr.	Qr.	Pr.	Qr.	Pr.	Qr.	Pr.	Qr.	Pr.	Qr.	Pr.	Qr.	Pr.
2	ending 31 January	$74\frac{1}{2}$	6	76	10	$73\frac{1}{2}$	14	78	18	$79\frac{3}{8}$	22	$88\frac{3}{8}$	26	$78\frac{1}{4}$
3	30 April	76	7	$75\frac{1}{2}$	11	74	15	$78\frac{7}{8}$	19	$79\frac{1}{4}$	23	$96\frac{1}{4}$	27	75
4	31 July	$74\frac{1}{2}$	8	$74\frac{1}{2}$	12	$76\frac{1}{2}$	16	$73\frac{1}{2}$	20	$81\frac{1}{2}$	24	$90\frac{1}{2}$	28	$76\frac{1}{2}$
5	31 October	$71\frac{1}{2}$	9	$74\frac{1}{4}$	13	$80\frac{1}{8}$	17	$76\frac{7}{8}$	21	$88\frac{1}{4}$	25	$90\frac{1}{4}$	29	$75\frac{3}{8}$

productive,

productive, during every successive year. Thus, the permanent taxes, produced, in the twelvemonth,

ending on the 5th of Jan. 1787	-	£.11,867,055
5th of Jan. 1788	-	12,923,134
		<hr/>
5th of Jan. 1792	-	14,132,000
5th of Jan. 1793	-	14,284,295
		<hr/>

The whole revenue, in 1783, was *below* the establishment £.2,000,000.

The whole revenue, in 1792, was *above* the establishment £.2,031,000.\*

Such, then, was the revenue of the nation, during the depression, in 1783; the principal measures, which were adopted for raising it; and such was the amount of its exaltation; when Great Britain was forced into another war, by the dire necessity of unprovoked hostilities.

\* The Brief Examination, p. 58.



## C H A P. XIV.

*The Strength of Britain in 1793.—From her Populousness.—From her Trade.—From the Numbers of her Shipping and Sailors.—From the Magnitude of the Royal Navy.—From her Revenue.—The Losses of her Trade.—The Bankruptcies of 1793.—The Lapse of the Bank of England.—Our vast Commerce.—The Improvement of the Country.—The Corn Trade.—Finance Operations.—The Peace.—The Conclusion.*

THE judicious reader has already determined, from the experience of the past, that the nation was never more able to engage in vigorous war, than at the great epoch of her prosperity, in 1792. We never had so many people, nor so many enlightened, and industrious, people, who were usefully employed; and who, with augmented capitals, obtained greater gains. We never exported so great an amount of the products of our land and labour; as the foregoing facts have shown, and the following details will demonstrate:

The

The value of British manufactures, which were annually exported to the several countries, in Europe, except to the British dominions :—

	Six years average, ending with 1774.	Six years average, ending with 1792.
To Denmark and Norway	— £. 97,034	— £. 160,131
To Russia — —	— 132,257	— 278,054
To Sweden — —	— 22,090	— 41,575
To the East Country	— 62,996	— 78,674
To Germany — —	— 431,223	— 763,160
To Holland — —	— 741,836	— 746,715
To Flanders — —	— 332,667	— 386,054
To France — —	— 87,164	— 717,807
To Spain and the Canaries	— 878,066	— 605,055
To Portugal and Madeira	— 578,951	— 643,553
To the Streights and Gibraltar	— 136,713	— 250,228
To Italy and Venice	— 618,817	— 722,221
To Turkey — —	— 65,189	— 73,026
	<u>£. 4,185,053</u>	<u>£. 5,466,253</u>

The value of British manufactures, which were annually exported to the British dominions, in Europe :

	Six years average, ending with 1774.	Six years average, ending with 1792.
To Ireland — —	— £. 1,024,231	— £. 1,352,291
To the Isle of Man — —	— 2,893	— 17,717
To Guernsey, Jersey, &c. — —	— 36,201	— 73,342
To Greenland — —	— 2	— 11
	<u>£. 1,063,327</u>	<u>£. 1,443,361</u>

The

The value of British manufactures, which were annually exported to all other countries, without Europe:—

	Six years average, ending with 1774.	Six years average, ending with 1792.
To the British Colonies in		
America — —	£. 310,946	£. 697,205
To the States of America —	2,216,824	2,807,306
To the West Indies —	1,209,265	1,845,962
To the East Indies —	907,240	1,921,955
To New Holland —	—	3,179
To Africa — —	449,364	568,663
To the South Whale Fishery —	—	75
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£. 5,093,639	£. 7,844,345
	<hr/>	<hr/>

We never had, at any former period, so many shipping, either for the uses of traffic, or war, as at the beginning of the late hostilities; as the subjoined details will clearly evince:—

Av. of years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Val. of Cargoes.
	Tons Eng.	Tons foreign.	Total.	
In 1772	} 795,943	} 64,232	} 680,175	} £. 15,613,003
73				
74				
1785	} 1,012,899	} 117,471	} 1,130,370	} 17,123,373
86				
87				
1790	} 1,329,979	} 163,778	} 1,493,757	} 22,585,771
91				
92				
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

From these details, it is sufficiently apparent, that we employ upwards of *five hundred and thirty-four thousand* tons of shipping, more than at the commencement of the American war; and export a greater

greater value of cargoes, to the vast amount of £.6,972,768. Of our commercial prosperity, we shall find supplemental proofs, if we examine the *gross* income of the *post-office*, which has been already stated \*; and which shows clearly how commerce and revenue may promote each other. It is equally true, that the navigation, and nautical strength, of the country go hand in hand together: the mercantile shipping maintain our naval militia, during peace, and our naval militia protect the mercantile shipping, in war. The amount of both will appear in the subjoined TABLE; comprehending the number of *ships*, with their *tonnage*, and *men*, within every part of the British dominions, in the following years:—

	1791.			1792.			1793. †		
	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
England -	10,423	1,168,469	86,897	10,633	1,186,610	87,569	10,779	1,206,778	87,393
Scotland -	2,104	161,486	13,777	2,143	162,274	13,491	2,122	160,642	13,080
Ireland -	1,176	69,233	6,638	1,193	69,567	6,730	1,181	67,790	6,437
The Colonies -	1,688	92,545	8,299	1,745	103,316	8,389	1,889	111,204	9,491
Jersey -	81	6,244	649	91	6,851	720	92	6,787	1,087
Guernsey -	93	6,629	482	97	7,050	513	89	7,142	661
Man -	84	2,895	371	177	4,277	866	177	4,177	810
The Total	15,647	1,511,401	117,113	16,070	1,540,145	118,286	16,326	1,564,520	118,952 †

\* In page 277.

† The year 1793 contains the shipping, which were registered between the 30th of September 1792, and the 30th of September 1793; the accounts being made up yearly to those dates. The numbers, which appear in the account of 1793, as prize ships, made free as British, were 661 vessels, containing 97,969 tons.

Such

Such were the number of ships, and failors, which, in those years, belonged to the merchants, within the British dominions; and which, by proper management, may be all converted to the uses of war, if the royal navy were less equal to its various objects.

By examining the following details, we shall acquire sufficient information, with regard to the comparative state of the *Royal Navy*, in the following years:—It consisted,

		Tons.
In 1760, of	—	300,416
In 1774, of	—	276,046
In 1792, of	—	433,239*
In 1800, of	—	790,950.

But, the greatest fleet is of little avail, if we had not money to put it in motion. We never had so great a permanent revenue as in 1792. We never had so efficient a sinking fund, to give energy to private gains, and to augment the public income, as

\* The whole Royal Navy was then composed of

Nº.		Rates.		Tons.
7	—	1st	—	15,664
21	—	2d	—	41,125
112	—	3d	—	176,062
21	—	4th	—	22,413
103	—	5th	—	84,115
42	—	6th	—	23,330
192	—	Sloops, &c.	—	70,530
<hr/>				
498				433,239
<hr/>				<hr/>

when



when hostilities began. By the simplification, which has been lately introduced into the mode of stating the accounts, the amount of the national income and expenditure, in every year, becomes apparent to every eye, the moment the statement is presented to parliament. It equally contributes towards our national strength, that an account of the produce, which each particular tax yields, is now laid before the parliament, in order to show, which of them are productive, and which of them are deficient. The appointment of commissioners, for controuling the army accounts, have made all officers more careful both of their receipts, and disbursements. The establishing of a new board, for examining the public accounts, has induced all persons, who receive public money, to be more attentive, in the expenditure, and more punctual, in their settlements. And, the great example, which has been lately made, of a strict enquiry, with regard to "unaccounted millions," and the subsequent repayment of many thousands, has operated as one of the resources of the state, during the late hostilities; as rigid œconomy, in private life, is the most productive income. The facility, with which supplies were found for the late campaigns, is the best evidence of the truth of the foregoing positions.

In the midst of the greatest prosperity, which this flourishing nation ever experienced, whether we regard the income of individuals, or the revenue of the State, ensued, at the end of 1792, what was denominated, at the time, the "universal wreck of credit,"

credit," in Britain. The allusion was to the numerous bankruptcies, which, certainly, happened, at that grievous epoch. I thought then, as I now think, that those bankruptcies had no connection with the beginning of war: and, I still think, as I then declared, that the derangement of our private credit was altogether owing to an *impeded circulation*, which is, doubtless, a commercial misfortune of great magnitude. An inquiry into the cause of those bankruptcies will develop some curious circumstances, will ascertain some important facts, and will inculcate some useful instruction.

At the portal of this inquiry, we shall find a remark of Lord Kaims, which is the key to this subject. He states it, as a fact, that from 1694, to 1744, there were, in Scotland, only *thirty-four cessio honorums* [bankruptcies;] and, he infers, from the fact, as a consequence, how languidly trade was then carried on. From 1774 to 1771 there have been yearly, thrice thirty-four [bankruptcies]; which is a proof, he adds, of the rapid progress of trade. Every one, he concludes, is roused to adventure, though every one cannot gain\*. Had all been like this! but, alas! seldom is it, that Lord Kaims, with all his celebrity for labour, states his facts, with so much accuracy, or draws his inferences, with so much precision:

We may see a similar progress in the annals of our commerce, in England. In the infancy of our

\* Sketch of the History of Man, 12mo. vol. I. p. 92.

traffic, the bankrupt was regarded by the law, as a criminal, who had defrauded his creditors. When commerce began to be more practised, and better understood, the bankrupt was at length considered by our legislature, and lawyers, as unfortunate, rather than fraudulent. The trade of England, after languishing, in its childhood, for ages, was, even at the commencement of this century, only in its infancy. And, at that epoch, we had scarcely, in England, *forty* bankruptcies, in a twelvemonth. I have, in quest of facts, inspected the London Gazette, that melancholy chronicle of our commercial failures; and from it have compiled such a chronological statement of annual bankruptcies, as hath all the accuracy, that such an enquiry easily admits, or truth absolutely requires. I have thrown it into the comprehensive form of a Table, which is here subjoined:—

A TABLE; shewing the Number of BANKRUPTCIES, in every Month, during the following Years, from 1700 to 1793:

	1700	1701	1702	171	7:4	1715	1720	1726	1737	1728	1736	1737	1738	1739	1740	1741	1744	1745	1746	1748	1749
January	-	3	4	10	17	6	22	34	39	34	9	18	13	30	27	20	16	21	20	29	29
February	3	3	1	25	17	21	37	40	58	18	15	21	21	20	32	22	18	20	15	26	23
March	-	2	4	15	23	15	17	36	58	61	23	20	24	15	29	22	18	20	18	19	14
April	6	2	2	20	19	6	12	26	32	32	19	16	22	27	34	10	25	17	21	20	20
May	2	3	6	17	12	23	25	35	33	15	16	27	22	27	24	29	23	16	9	15	28
June	4	5	3	15	15	17	14	42	47	55	20	19	20	21	21	18	10	14	16	17	17
July	3	3	3	17	13	13	16	30	26	24	25	8	16	12	15	12	20	14	14	14	14
August	7	4	4	20	8	13	19	26	37	20	20	11	16	17	9	7	8	16	8	13	17
September	-	3	2	18	8	16	10	23	24	17	13	15	10	10	17	12	15	6	18	5	5
October	4	2	2	15	14	10	23	37	34	32	22	15	22	21	31	20	21	14	10	15	15
November	3	5	-	10	15	16	26	38	44	31	29	24	29	32	23	31	18	14	18	17	17
December	4	3	1	10	13	13	34	48	37	55	27	15	25	21	17	20	16	9	10	23	10
	38	38	30	200	173	169	235	446	388	240	220	232	263	288	255	197	200	159	226	200	200

Continued.

	1752	1753	1754	1756	1757	1762	1763	1764	1772	1773	1774	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783	1784	1791	1792	1793
January	25	20	25	41	24	23	24	25	39	48	28	57	50	38	33	61	46	67	60	58	77
February	17	11	30	26	20	19	9	40	25	62	29	50	57	49	48	45	53	57	53	38	87
March	15	24	15	31	19	14	23	31	49	33	64	45	41	32	49	54	27	50	53	105	105
April	23	20	26	26	26	20	25	30	47	53	33	53	48	30	34	51	35	56	36	40	188
May	9	28	35	23	28	17	17	42	37	57	35	70	65	48	46	52	66	42	66	57	209
June	10	10	15	16	28	14	14	17	34	42	59	45	45	35	22	37	41	42	42	69	158
July	12	15	20	16	19	16	11	18	70	37	28	52	30	37	46	40	48	45	46	41	108
August	8	20	15	17	17	13	12	12	44	66	24	39	20	20	36	37	27	17	56	39	87
September	3	10	15	14	13	6	24	18	54	35	15	54	35	15	18	36	28	38	30	49	53
October	7	15	18	14	21	25	11	42	40	19	34	29	37	23	41	44	36	34	32	65	65
November	15	20	18	24	24	22	35	28	55	40	33	83	67	57	61	47	56	56	65	105	97
December	14	21	12	30	35	16	30	26	47	33	24	60	45	33	39	41	30	34	66	47	70
	158	214	244	278	274	205	233	301	525	562	360	675	544	449	438	537	528	517	604	628	1304

U 2

Here,



Here, let us pause awhile.—This curious, and instructive, Table, furnishes important facts, which inculcate useful instruction. It is apparent, from those facts, that in the exact proportion, as our traffic increased, from its infancy to manhood, the number of bankruptcies, at every period, bore a just proportion to the amount of our trade, and the frequency of our commercial dealings. The traders continually adventured out upon the uncertain ocean of commerce, though they did not all return, with happy gales, and equal success, into port. And, the nation, which beheld the shipwreck of their fortunes, grew rich from their enterprizes, while she pitied the unhappiness of their fate.

If this *Table* be a faithful mirror of our commercial misfortunes, we may see, that the commencement of Queen Anne's war did not greatly incommode our traders. The bustle, and business, of her hostilities appear to have increased the number of bankrupts. The rebellion of 1715 seems to have made none. The South-sea year, 1720, appears to have involved our merchants in the burst of bubbles, though it was public, rather than private, credit, which was chiefly affected, during this unhappy year of projects. Our bankruptcies now regularly increased with the augmentation of our trade. The rebellion of 1745 overturned none of our commercial houses. The war of 1756 seems to have done a little more mischief, though that mischief seems to have decreased, as hostilities went on. The peace of 1763 augmented the number of bankruptcies,



bankruptcies, though the commercial distresses of that period seem to have been more in sound, than in reality. With our traffic, and business, our bankruptcies continued to increase in number, and magnitude. We perceive how many they were augmented, during 1772, and 1773, when *our circulation was impeded*, at a moment of uncommon prosperity. We see a smaller number of bankruptcies, in 1781, when our trade was the most depressed, during the American war, than in 1772, and 1773. The two most prosperous years, which this nation ever knew, were 1791, and 1792: yet, strange to tell, the number of our bankruptcies was larger than the amount of them in 1781; the most disastrous year of the American war; so different are the informations of *fact* from the deductions of *theory*.

We might learn from experience, that prosperity generally leads on to adversity, as the highest health is often the forerunner of the worst diseases; the chills of ague, or the flames of calenture. We perceive, through the several months of 1791, and still more, in 1792, that there lurked, in our commercial habit, the predisposing causes of our commercial maladies, which broke out into such a paroxysm, during 1793. History will record the month of November 1792, as a memorable epoch, in our annals. It was peculiarly unfortunate to our traders. Yet, was it a month propitious to our constitution. Whether the apprehensions of that epoch produced any of the numerous bankruptcies of No-

vember 1792, I pretend not to know. I believe, that all terrors disappeared, when the parliament was called, the militia were embodied, and, above all, when the nation, with an overpowering voice, avowed her attachment to the constitution, and promised her support of the laws.

Our domestic quiet was, by these means, scarcely secured, when the French, after various threats, declared war against Great Britain, and Holland, on the first of February 1793. The unusual bankruptcies, in the month of January preceding, can hardly be attributed to this subsequent measure. The first bankruptcy, which created suspicion, from its amount, was the failure of Donald and Burton, on the 15th of February 1793. They were engaged in the most uncertain of all traffics; in the trade of corn; in speculations on *American* corn: but, they had sustained no loss from the war. On Tuesday evening, the 19th of February, the Bank of England threw out the paper of Lane, Son, and Frazer, who had never recovered the shocks of the American war. And, next morning, they stopt payment, to the amount of almost a million of money. This great failure involved the fate of several very substantial traders. But, none of those houses had sustained any damage from the war. *Suspicion* was now carried up to *alarm*, and, every merchant, and every banker, who was concerned, in the circulation of negotiable paper, met with unusual obstructions, in their daily business. Yet, it was not till the 16th of March, that the long established  
house

house of Burton, Forbes, and Gregory, stopt, which was followed, on the 18th, by the failure of their correspondents, Caldwell and Company, of Liverpool, to the amount of nearly a million. Still, neither of these great circulators of paper had sustained any loss from the war. And, as suspicion had been carried up to alarm, alarm was now magnified into panic.

In the midst of this terror, the whole city of London was frightened at *the rule of three*. It was an easy calculation, by which it was demonstrated, that, if one house failed for a million, ten houses might fail for *ten millions*. Neither these calculators, in their closets, nor those traders, in their counting-houses, ever reflected, that one bankrupt might pay five shillings in the pound, a second ten shillings, a third fifteen shillings, a fourth twenty shillings, and a fifth five-and-twenty shillings, in the pound. In fact, several bankers, during that panic terror, paused in their payments, who immediately went on as usual with their business, and some great traders, who were obliged to stop, soon paid twenty shillings in the pound. Yet, all this while, we had not felt the stroke of an enemy. In this manner, terror created distrust, distrust impeded circulation, and an impeded circulation is the greatest misfortune, that can afflict a commercial nation.

Such, then, were the real causes of our commercial distresses ! And, such was the sad termination of seven years of the greatest prosperity, both public, and private, which this nation had ever enjoyed !

In the midst of this prosperity, a bank was erected, in every market-town, I was going to say, in every village. The vast business, in the country, created these banks; and these banks created, by their facilities, vast business. The rise in the price of the public stocks drew immense sums of money from the country to London; and the still greater rise of the public stocks drove vast sums of money from London to the country. Much of this money was placed in the country banks, which employed it, in speculations, to relieve themselves from this fullness. But, of speculations, there is no end. The country bankers tried various projects to force a greater number of their notes into circulation, than the business of the nation demanded. They destroyed, by their own imprudence, the credit of their own notes, which must ever depend on the near proportion of the demand to the supply. The country bankers became ambitious of furnishing not only the country, but London, with notes. For this purpose, many of them issued notes, optional, to be paid, in the country, or in London\*. By these means, their notes came oftener, and in greater numbers, to London, than were welcome, in the shops of London. These notes became discredited, not only in proportion, as the supply was greater than the demand for them, but as the banks

\* By a list of English country banks, which I have now before me, containing 279, though not the whole number, it appears, that of the 279, no fewer than 204 issued *optional* notes, and of these last 71 stop payment.



were distant, and unknown. The projects, and arts, by which these notes were pushed into the circle of trade, were regarded with a very evil eye by those, who, in this management, saw great imprudence, in many, and a little fraudulence, in some. When suspicion stalked out to create alarm, and alarm ran about to excite panic, more than four hundred country banks in England sustained a shock; all were shaken; upwards of *a hundred* stopt; some of which, however, afterwards went on, in their usual course of punctual payments.

The many which stopt, the many that paused, all demonstrate how greatly they contributed to our commercial misery. The whole number of country banks in England was unknown; their capitals, and characters, were unknown. Their imprudence only was known, which had already shaken their own credit. And, suspicion fastened upon all, though the event has proved, that they were generally more stable, than had been at first supposed. Yet, few *foreign* merchants failed. The country banks, and country traders, were those, who chiefly swelled the unfortunate number of our monthly bankruptcies. And, this comparison is alone sufficient to show, that the cause of our commercial maladies arose at home, without infection from abroad; that it arose from the fullness of peace, without the misfortunes of war.

Happy is it for mankind, that they see little into futurity. Had it been foreseen that, in a few months, at the commencement of hostilities, a hundred banks would stop, and in the same twelve-  
months,



months, thirteen hundred bankruptcies would happen; the whole nation had trembled to its center. Posterity will scarcely credit the record of the facts, that after such a storm, in three short months, our confidence, and credit, were restored. Unusual measures were resorted to, in parliament, to prevent the universal wreck of credit. Perhaps the parliament thought, with Lord Hardwicke, that, if there be no precedent, we will make one. The very first emission of exchequer-bills, however, in 1696, for supporting credit, and helping commerce, during *the recoinage*, was a precedent in point\*. The issuing of exchequer-bills, in 1793, was, an uncommon, but a very salutary, measure. The whole nation was supported, and *soothed*, by the appointment of commissioners, for granting aid to private credit, by exchequer-bills. There never was a measure, so little alarming, and so completely effectual, as this immediately proved. Of the £.5,000,000 of exchequer-bills, that were allowed, the whole number of applications for loans was 334, amounting, in all, to the sum of £.3,855,624. Of these applications, 238, amounting to the sum of £.2,202,200, were granted. Of the remaining 94 applications, 45 for the sum of £.1,215,000 were withdrawn, or not pursued by the claimants: and 49 applications for the sum of £.438,324, were rejected, either as not coming within the purpose of

\* Anderson's Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 213.—It is worthy of remark, that in 1696, there were exchequer-bills issued for as small sums as £.5. each, which proves that they were intended for common use,

the act, or on account of the inability of the parties to give satisfactory security. The whole sum, which was advanced on loan, has been repaid, without difficulty, or distress. Of the persons, who were thus assisted, only two became bankrupt. These facts prove, that temporary relief was only wanted, and to no great amount. The interest on those loans amounted to £.13,033 : 14 : 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ : the expence of the management to £.8,685 : 12 : 4 : and of consequence, there was a clear profit, from one of the happiest, and best timed, measures, which the wisdom of government ever adopted, of £.4,348 : 2 : 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ . In fact, the alacrity of parliament to support the credit of the country was relief. May 1793 was the epoch of the greatest number of bankruptcies. They greatly decreased, in June ; they decreased still more, in July ; they continued to decrease, in August ; and in September, they fell to be nearly on a par with the numbers, in September 1792. The business was now done\*. The expectation of relief actually created it,

\* I happen to have the following note, which, I believe, is sufficiently accurate to shew to what parts of the country the principal relief was granted :

There were granted to

Glasgow	—	—	—	£.319,730
Leith	—	—	—	25,750
Banff	—	—	—	4,000
Perth	—	—	—	4,000
Dundee	—	—	—	16,000
Edinburgh	—	—	—	4,000
Paisley	—	—	—	31,000

Carried over ————— £.404,480  
London

it. And, the wise determination of parliament to support both public, and private, credit, quieted apprehensions; and was extremely instrumental, in restoring mutual confidence; as it gave traders time to recollect themselves, and to look for, and use those resources, which are not often wanting to merchants of character and property, in times of commercial difficulties.

In Scotland, the commercial distress, though great, was much less, than in England. If scarcity of gold and silver would make distress, Scotland ought to have had her full share of distress. Though there be some variety of opinions, as to what really is a *banking-house*, in Scotland, it is certain, that the act of parliament\*, for suppressing optional paper and small notes, has introduced into her system, since May 1766, a greater circumspection, which has prevented much mischief †. The great principle,

			Brought over	—	£. 404 480
London	—	—	—	—	989,700
Liverpool	—	—	—	—	137,020
Manchester	—	—	—	—	246,500
Bristol	—	—	—	—	41,500
Other places	—	—	—	—	310,000
					<hr/>
					£. 2,129,200
					<hr/>

\* 5 Geo. III. ch. 47.

† An intelligent friend at Glasgow wrote to me on this subject, as follows:—"The distress began to be felt here, in a few days after it began in London, in the month of February last: but we had no failures till the 28th of March, when the banking-house of Murdoch, Robertson, and Company, were made

principle, and various provisions, of this salutary law, by converting all paper bills into cash notes, which are payable on demand, has been attended with the most salutary consequences.

Scotland was not so much deranged, as England, either in her circulation, her manufactures, her trade, or her shipping, during the year 1793. Owing to a more attentive management, her banks were less embarrassed. Her circulation being less checked, its impediments gave fewer interruptions to her manufactures. And, her trade and shipping, being put in motion by all these, were little driven from their usual course, during the storm, which had almost wrecked the commerce, and navigation, of England. Of these exhilarating truths, the following details furnish ample proofs, what-

made bankrupts, for about £.115,000. This was followed by the banking-house of A. G. and A. Thompsons, who owed about £. 47,000. The first will pay every shilling to their creditors; and it is supposed, that the last will do so also. One or two more of the country banks, in the west of Scotland, were under temporary difficulties, but made no pause; and having got assistance they went on; and, as all the other banks did, drew in their funds, and lessened their engagements. Some of the banks here did certainly continue to discount some bills, but in a less degree than formerly. All of the banks were under the necessity of allowing many of such bills, as they held *to be renewed*, at two or three months date, either in whole, or in part, according to circumstances, which, in fact, was the same thing as a new discount. In this way all our banks have been going on to this hour, by making renewals, when they could not obtain payment, endeavouring to lessen the amount at every renewal; so as gradually to draw in their funds."

ever



ever may have been the temporary embarrassments :

Of linen cloth, there were made for sale, in Scotland, during the years

	Quantity.	Value.
1789	— 19,996,075 yards	- £. 779,608.
1790	— 18,092,249	— 722,545.
1791	— 18,739,725	— 755,546.
1792	— 21,065,386	— 842,544.
1793	— 20,676,620	— 757,332.

There were exported, by sea, from Scotland, goods of the value, in 1782 — of — £. 653,709.  
 in 1786 — of — 914,739.  
 in 1789 — of — 1,170,076.  
 in 1792 — of — 1,230,884.  
 in 1793 — of — 1,024,742.

Perhaps a more accurate view of the trade, and shipping, of Scotland may be seen in the subjoined statement, which exhibits the various ships, in their several employments :

Years	Foreign Trade.		Coast Trade.		Fishing Trade.		Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
1789	793	84,206	958	47,901	381	22,798	2,132	154,905
1790	794	86,823	950	47,688	361	19,898	2,105	154,409
1791	776	85,468	1,058	51,998	388	19,632	2,222	157,098
1792	718	84,027	1,022	50,940	376	19,890	2,116	154,857
1793	698	80,024	1,143	57,318	393	17,973	2,234	155,315

From



From the foregoing documents, I am now induced to infer, that the commercial affairs of Scotland were little embarrassed by the impeded circulation, in 1793, and still less by the commencement of war. And, from this truth, I am inclined to believe that, had not any unusual bankruptcies happened, in England, during 1793, from the imprudent management of country banks, her trade, and shipping, had been little lessened by sudden hostilities.

Happy is it for mankind, that every evil brings its own remedy, unless imprudence step in, to aggravate misfortune, by its reformations. We have already derived commercial benefits from our commercial derangements. Speculators now see, that there are limits, beyond which, they cannot safely pass. Bankers at length perceive, what indeed required not the help of experience, that by issuing too much paper, they may lose all. Merchants of real capital, and true knowledge, will do more business to more profitable purpose, since traders of no capital, and little moderation, have been forced to give way. Manufacturers have learned, from recent misery, that there are bounds, both to giving and receiving, wages \*. Distrust will be banished from

\* My commercial correspondent at Glasgow, whose sound sense and genuine veracity, I will warrant, wrote to me on the 9th of December 1793, as follows:—

“ The truth is, that most of us are of opinion, that the late stagnation has been exceedingly useful to our trade; and that if it does not proceed too far, it will be attended with the most beneficial

from our island, as those, who stood the test of the late trials, must, like gold in the furnace, be deemed more worthy of confidence. The measure of issuing exchequer bills has at once evinced the alacrity of parliament to support credit, and the good effects, which no vast sum, when prudently applied, can produce on the extended surface of general circulation. And, the whole world has seen, with wonder, during the severest trials, that the people of this nation have vast property, exclusive of paper, and unbounded resources, without exhausting their strength.

Never was this exhilarating truth more fully verified than by the events of subsequent times. One of the greatest of these events was the LAPSE of the Bank of England, in February 1797. Panic, and

beneficial consequences to men of real capital: For, previous thereto, the sales were so rapid, the returns so quick, and money so abundant, that much business was established upon little better than mere paper speculation, or circulation alone, which is now at an end. The wages of our labourers, too, had got to such a height, that we must, in all probability, have been gradually undermined in foreign markets, by foreign manufactures; and if this had once occurred, it would have been much more difficult to recover from, than any temporary shock, like the present. Besides, these high wages occasioned much idleness and dissipation; and much of the time of our workmen was consequently spent in ale-houses, where they became politicians, and government-mongers, restless and discontented. Upon the whole, therefore, we may say with truth, that all, which has hitherto happened, has been for the best."—These judicious observations apply equally to the whole nation.

an impeded circulation, had well nigh ruined the whole country-banks of Great Britain, as we have seen, in 1793: and panick, and an impeded circulation, occasioned that *lapse* of the Bank of England, in 1797. An inquiry into the affairs of the Bank now became necessary. That inquiry was minutely made by Committees of the two Houses of Parliament, separately. Every trial of the Bank "only published her better commendation." A thousand facts, and circumstances, were now disclosed to the world, with regard to the wealth, and circulation of the Bank, which were before unknown to the most intelligent persons. It appeared, at length, that the Bank had, undoubtedly, a clear surplus of property, after answering all demands, of £.15,37,690. It was now disclosed, that there was then in circulation of Bank notes, the commodious amount of £.11,030,110\*. As it was now apparent, that much of that panick had arisen from the artifice of the enemy, the Parliament prohibited payments, by the Bank, in gold, and silver, for a time. The traders immediately came out with declarations of confidence. Every one now ran to receive Bank notes, as if they had been specie. Credit, both public, and private, was again restored. The specie, which had been carried by fright into the country, from London, was brought back by credit, from the country, to London. During the years 1797, and 1798, there were

\* Lords' Report, Appendix, No. 10.

imported into this island, as a favourable balance, £.8,000,000 in bullion. After the failure of so many country banks, and the pause of the Bank of England, to have furnished such vast supplies for war, and to have engrossed the trade of the world, are proofs of inexhaustible resources.

If we were now to inquire into the losses of our commerce, during the late hostilities, with so many nations, it would perhaps be found, that the interruptions of circulation, and the derangements of credit, inflicted deeper wounds on our traffic, than the redoubled strokes of the enemy, which, as every war brings some discouragement with it, must be allowed to have made some defalcations from our shipping, and our traffic. And the apparent losses of our trade, both from bankruptcy, and war, may be calculated from the following detail :

	Ships cleared outwards:			Value of Cargoes.
	Tons English.	D° Foreign.	Total.	£.
In 1785 } 86 } 87 }	1,012,899	- 117,471	- 1,130,370	- 17,123,373
1790 } 91 } 92 }	1,329,979	- 163,778	- 1,493,757	- 22,585,771
1793	1,240,262	- 187,032	- 1,427,294	- 20,738,588

Yet, our general traffick, owing to the vast force of its energies, soon regained its former prosperity. It preyed upon the trade of the enemy. We may easily perceive how much of our commerce we owed to

\*

prize



prize goods, from the following statement of the value thereof, which was imported, and exported—

	Prize Goods imported.	Prize Goods exported.
In 1793 - -	£.560,124.	— £.
94 - -	1,115,141.	— 1,319,728.
95 - -	877,633.	— 896,517.
96 - -	437,844.	— 286,631.
97 - -	484,451.	— 991,142.
98 - -	582,128.	— 1,338,344.
99 - -	534,874.	— 1,120,116.
1800 - -	683,097.	— 1,611,733.

Our enterprize absorbed almost the whole commerce of Europe. And, owing also to those causes, our foreign trade rose, by an energetic increase, from the depression of 1793, amounting to £.20,738,588, to its vast augmentation over the most prosperous years, amounting to £.43,152,019, in 1800\*.

If we add to this vast sum the value of the *imports*, in the same year, the whole value of our *foreign* trade will appear to be no less than £.73,722,624. How to calculate the amount of our domestic trade, I know not: it was always deemed by our old writers, on trade, Petty and Child, Davenant and De Foe, who were as wise as we are, though they had not the same details, to be more than our foreign commerce.

Those facts exhibit, then, such an immense trade, as no other country ever enjoyed, in the undisturbed times of profound peace. If we add to that

\* See the Chronological Table.



vast traffic, the various profits, which are connected with it; the gains of *freights*\*; of the insurances; and of agencies; which were all equally profitable to our traders; we must greatly enlarge our ideas of the vast gains of our commerce, during the late war, which was to exhaust our resources, and to ruin our traffic.

The late war is, gloriously, distinguished by the capture of the enemy's corsairs, and by the ruin of the enemy's fleets. Our shipping were never so protected, or so safe, in any former war; owing to those causes, and to the vastness of the business, the insurances were never made, on such reasonable terms †. When the fleet, which was employed in the

\* Of *British* Ships, there were employed, in Britain.

	Inwards.		Outwards.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
In 1793	— 9,980	— 1,342,952	— 11,175	— 1,240,202
In 1800	— 10,496	— 1,379,807	— 11,868	— 1,445,271

There belonged to Great Britain, of Ships,

	Ships.	Tons.
In 1793	— 12,809	1,367,420
In 1800	— 14,363	1,628,439

† The *subjoined* STATEMENT is a sufficient proof:

PREMIUMS of INSURANCE from LONDON to  
the East Indies, and China.

- 1779. £.6 per cent. — 1782. 15 Guineas per cent.
- 1792. January to December, £.3 to 3 Guineas; December,  
£.4 and £.5 per cent.
- 1793. January, £.4½ a. 5 Guineas; February and March, 8  
Guineas.

the Russian trade, was recently detained in the ports of Ruffia, the loss of the whole was settled, with

Guineas; April to October, £. 7 a. 7 Guineas; October, &c. 6 Guineas.

### Jamaica.

1779. With convoy 7 to 8 Guineas; without 15 a. 20 Guineas.  
 1782. 8, 10, and 15 Guineas with convoy.—Premiums highest in the beginning of the season.  
 1792. £. 2½ *per cent.*—1793. January, 3 Guineas; February, 5 Guineas, and 7 Guineas; April, 8 Guineas; June, 4 a. 6 Guineas, with convoy.

### Leeward Islands.

1779. With convoy 7 a. 8 Guineas, without convoy 16 Guineas.  
 1782. From 8 to 12 Guineas with convoy.—Premiums highest in the first part of the season.  
 1793. £. 2.—1793. January, 2½ to 3 Guineas; February, 10 Guineas; March, 5 Guineas, with convoy. 5 Guineas *per cent.* the general rate throughout the season, with convoy.

### Canada.

1779. With convoy, 10 Guineas; without convoy, 15 Guineas *per cent.*  
 1782. 15 Guineas with convoy.—1792. £. 3 to 3 Guineas, throughout the season.  
 1793. 5 to 6 Guineas with convoy.

### American States.

1782. 15 Guineas with convoy in general throughout the season.  
 1792. £. 2 in general. — — Ditto.

with the facility of the common loss of a single ship. This is a transaction of which the Insurers of Britain may boast. The facility, and reasonableness, of the insurances, during the late war, ought to be added to the unusual profits of that gainful period.

Our trade was not only carried on with an extraordinary degree of success, and profit, but, the surface of our island was improved with uncommon skill, and augmented energy. From the restoration of peace, in 1783, till the commencement of the war, in 1793, domestic meliorations had been carried on, with equal vigour, and suc-

1793. January, £. 2; February 4th to 2th, 3 Guineas, 4 Guineas, and 5 Guineas; 23d, 8 Guineas; March, 8 Guineas, and 5 Guineas, American ships only. The general rate throughout the rest of the season, 3 guineas.

### The Baltic.

1779. 2½ Guineas with convoy, 5 Guineas without.—1782. 4 to 5 Guineas with convoy.

1792. 1 Guinea to St. Petersburg, £. 1¼ to 1½ to Stettin.

1793. March, 3 Guineas with convoy to Stettin; 6 Guineas without.

April, 2½ Guineas with convoy to St. Petersburg; and 5 Guineas without.

July, to St. Petersburg, 3 Guineas, to return 1 *per cent.* if with convoy, which was the general rate throughout the rest of the season. Add to all these details what a very eminent Insurer at Lloyd's Coffee-house has written to me, "that premiums of insurance, in the late war, have been much lower, than they were in the American war."

cefs,



gar. And, this happy isle, where the foot of the foe never treads, if it were brought to the hammer, would sell for more, than it would have fetched, at any former period, in proportion to its additional improvements.

Yet, what do all those improvements of the country avail, if the people have not victual to eat? This question would lead us into the wide, and thorny, wilderness of *agricultural reports*. But though I have been, regularly, summoned to contribute a day's labour, in this unweeded garden, I have hitherto been frightened by the toil. I had the honour to receive, some months ago, a circular letter from the Board of Agriculture; soliciting such observations, as I might have to make, with regard to the best mode of preventing future scarcity. But, my various avocations have hitherto prevented me from essaying so arduous a subject.

I will, however, contribute two, or three *truisms*, which may induce some person, who has more leisure, and more skill, than I can command, to add a few more; in the hope, that a regular collection of *truisms* may be formed, on this interesting subject: for, amidst a long continued clamour of contradiction, I have, scarcely, found any two persons, who could agree upon any one position.

1st TRUISM. There have been ten times more agricultural melioration, during the present reign, than in any anterior period\*. Yet, is it, in this reign,

\* The foregoing pages furnish abundant proofs of that position,



reign, that we appear to have lost the export of corn. It would be very absurd logic to maintain, that the surface of our island, in proportion as it is improved, by inclosing, draining, and by every sort of manurance, became less productive. There are two facts, which are incontrovertible, and are very interesting: 1st. During the six-and-thirty years, which ended with 1800, the surface of our island was, continually, improved, beyond all former example, and in the *last* ten years of this period more, than in the *first* ten years: 2dly. With the same six-and-thirty years, our importation of corn began; and has increased the most, towards the conclusion of this long period\*.

2d TRUISM: During the present reign, there have been more skill, more money, and more efficient work, employed, in our agriculture, than in any

fition: but, I will rely on an authority, which will not be disputed. The report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the waste lands, stated, in 1797,

A Table of the acts of inclosure, with the extent of land inclosed in the following reigns:—

		No. of acts		No. of acres
In Q. Anne's	—	2	—	1,439
In George I.	—	16	—	17,660
In George II.	—	226	—	318,778
In George III.	—	1,532	—	2,804,197

\* The averages in the corn accounts, printed by the order of parliament, on the 14th of November, 1800, establish the fact as to the imports; and the journals of parliament, and the statute book, as to the improvements,

former

former period. By a necessary progress, the nation had become more knowing, more opulent, and more enterprising. The farmers have been better paid, for their pains, in this reign, than in prior times\*. It would be a very absurd argument, then, to maintain, that our fields produce less, as they are better cultivated.

3d TRUISM: This island must, necessarily, produce more victual, in the present reign, than in any former period. From more skill, more expence, and more manurance, the appropriate result must be more product. He, then, would be an absurd reasoner, who, from such premises, should maintain, that more skill, more expence, and more cultivation, must necessarily produce less, upon a medium of seasons.

From those three TRUISMS, there results, in my judgment, a fourth *truism*, though other persons may think, differently, from me upon the point: that all the late struggle, canvassing, and clamour, for a general act of inclosure, are groundless. If the country be in a continual course of improvement, and if this progress of melioration gather energy, as it proceeds, this much-sought-for measure is groundless, in its policy. If a general inclosure act would divert from profitable employments a greater portion of capital, of labour, and of enterprize, than would, otherwise, run into that channel, such an act would introduce an evil, rather

\* The corn accounts printed by the said order of the 14th of November, 1800.

than a good, into our political œconomy. If all interests, however, could be made to concur, there seems to be no other objection to a general inclosure act, except, that the spirit of improvement might slacken, perhaps, if that object were obtained; as lassitude generally follows enjoyment.

From the foregoing *truifms*, I am inclined, strongly, to think, that there is more *viçtual*\* produced, at present, in a *bad* season, than there was, formerly, produced in England, and Wales, during a *good* season†. If we throw into the scale the vast quantity

\* I use the good old English word *viçtual*, as it was used by Shakspeare, and by the parliament, in the reign of Charles II. in a larger sense, than *corn*, as stores for the support of life.

† The greatest surplus of corn, which was ever sent out of this country, was, in the five years, ending with 1754; and which amounted to — — £. 1,087,594 qrs.

The quantity of corn, which was imported according to an average of the five years of scarcity, ended with 1799, was — 1,190,131

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2,277,725

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Now, that quantity would not supply the additional number of people, which enumeration has, at length, found to be 2,830,000, who, yearly, consume one quarter each person, or 2,830,000 qrs. The annual deficiency is no less than 552,272 quarters. Mr. Dirom argues this question, upon the supposition, that each person consumes two quarters; 1st. because he made his estimate not only upon wheat; but, upon oats, rye, barley, malt; 2ndly. because he included, also, the consumption of pastry-makers, and starch-makers, of poultry, pigs, horses, which are not used in agriculture; and even the brewery and distillery.

The

quantity of potatoes, which are now, annually, grown, more than there were fifty years ago, the balance, will show, that there is raised at present, an infinitely greater quantity of *viſtual* in *bad* seasons, than there was, fifty years ago, raised, in *good* seasons.

The difficulty, and the distress, of late times, did not arise from our *producing less*, notwithstanding the unfavourable seasons; but from our *consuming more*: in good seasons, we produce infinitely more victual, than was raised in the prosperous years, ending with 1754; perhaps enough, in plentiful years, as we may infer, from the foregoing details: but, we consume much more; as we may learn from the well known amount of the imports of corn, during recent times. We have 2,830,000 more people, in England, and Wales, at present, as we know, from the late enumeration, than there existed, in the same countries, at the epoch of the bounty on corn, in 1689: if each consumer use at least one quarter a year, then, the general consumption of such persons must be 2,830,000 quarters of every sort of grain\*: and, consequently, more than

The fact is, the above statements of the exports, and imports, include all sorts of grain: and, consequently, the estimate of the consumption ought to include every sort of consumer.

\* The Rev. John Howlett says, *Dispersion*, p. 11,—“ If these additional inhabitants live upon barley, they will each require *twelve* bushels a year, instead of *eight* of wheat; if upon oats, nearly sixteen bushels ” Mr. Dirom, in his *Corn Tracts*, p. 15, says, “ wheat is double the value of the inferior grain; I shall throw upon the general consumption of the  
“ people,

than half a million of quarters beyond the former export, and recent import, of corn, added together, as we have seen. Neither is there included, in this estimate, the starch making, the pastry, the poultry-meat, the pig-meat, the horse-corn, the distillery, the brewery. The consumption is, therefore, not only much greater now, than formerly; but many consumers, who, in less opulent times, eat rye-meal, and oat-meal, now eat flower of wheat. The consumption of the whole body of consumers is not only more expensive, but it is more wasteful, at present, than formerly. A revolution, which has gradually taken place, during the last fifty, or sixty years, has lessened the number of suppliers, and added, largely, to the body of consumers. The cottagers have been driven into villages;

“ people, the grain consumed by horses, which are not employed in agriculture, hogs, poultry, starch-makers, &c. and when it is considered, that a great number of people live chiefly upon the inferior grain, we cannot, under all these circumstances, appropriate less than two quarters of the several sorts of grain, over-hand, to the consumption of each person, upon an average yearly, for bread, beer, spirits, &c.” With those intimations, the well-informed author of the Corn Tracts had already concurred. According to the principles of Mr. C. Smith, [Tracts 18] we may now estimate the whole consumption of England, and Wales, which, the enumeration has assured us, contain 9,330,000 persons.

	Quarters.
Bread corn, at one quarter, each	9,330,000
Corn made into drink	4,665,000
Corn for cattle, poultry, &c.	4,665,000
	<hr/>
The total of home consumption	18,660,000
	<hr/>

the



the villagers have been forced into towns; and the townsmen have been enticed into cities: while the cottagers remained in their hamlets; and the villagers in their vicinages, they derived much of their subsistence from the soil, whereon they lived: when they became townsmen, and citizens, they ceased to be partly suppliers, and began to be altogether consumers.

We owe much of this disadvantageous change to our modern system of agriculture. This system, as it has been long practised, has produced the most calamitous effects, without effecting all the salutary consequences, for which it is celebrated. By consolidating farms to an enormous extent; by forcing cottagers from their hamlets; by pretending to make much profit with little labour; the agricultural system has depopulated, and is depopulating the shires, wherein it prevails. This evil, in our political œconomy, has been long suspected: it is now certain. There is not a proposition, in the mathematics, that is more demonstrable, than the position, that the agricultural system depopulates the country\*. The agricultural system attempts to ape the manufacturing

\* The enumeration of 1801, among a thousand other informations, evinces the truth of that position :

	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses in 1690.	—	Ditto in 1801.	—	Decrease.
In Bedfordshire - - -	12,170	—	12,073	—	97
Cambridgeshire - - -	18,629	—	16,451	—	2,178
Essex - - - - -	40,545	—	39,398	—	1,147
Huntingdon - - -	8,713	—	7,072	—	1,641
					Lincoln

manufacturing system, which has a quite different tendency. The great aim of the manufacturing system is to produce a better commodity, at a cheaper rate. The constant effect of the agricultural system is to produce a worse commodity, at a dearer rate. While peers sink into peasants; and peasants rise into peers; the great body of the people is pining in want.

There may be politicians, indeed, who, considering money as the chief end of all policy, may think, that forcing the cottagers into towns, and the villagers into cities, is a good to be desired, rather than an evil to be deplored. Yes, we have had statesmen, who laid it down, as a maxim, that modern war is merely an affair of expence. The wealthiest nation, it was naturally presumed, would ultimately be the most triumphant; and

Lincoln - - - - -	45,019	—	42,489	—	2,530
Norfolk - - - - -	56,579	—	49,140	—	7,439
Rutland - - - - -	3,661	—	3,361	—	300
Suffolk - - - - -	47,537	—	32,805	—	14,732

These are all agricultural counties: and, the diminution of the numbers of their houses, during the intervening period, is a sad demonstration how much the agricultural system tends to depopulate the countries, which are comprehended within the circle of its unhappy influence. An equal number of the shires of Scotland, which have been the most improved, by agriculture, have been, in the same manner, depopulated. The ministers of many parishes, in North Britain, point out, in their statistical accounts, the consolidation of farms, the sheep-farming, the driving the people from the hamlets into towns, as the obvious causes of the depopulation of their several parishes.

final victory was supposed to be appended to the weightiest purse. We have lived, however, to see a nation arise, who could make conquests, without money; as, indeed, history had, already, recorded the conquests of poverty over riches. Europe has recently seen, that our wealth could not obtain warriors. And we were driven by necessity, or were induced by wisdom, to entrust the safety of our island to the virtuous spirit of our people. Where is that illustrious regiment, which overthrew the invincible phalanx, to find recruits. If sheep be driven into our northern glens, as a more valuable animal than the human race? Where shall our armies obtain the hardiest levies, if the villagers be forced into cities? We may now perceive, that money cannot buy men; that men are of more value than money: the policy, then, which regards riches, as the chief good, must end in the ruin of the state: and that statesman, who should consider the Exchequer, as the only object of his care, would soon be without an Exchequer to care for. From those intimations, we may infer what must be the attentions of the wisest government of the wisest of people.

As I have been asked my opinion, with regard to scarcity, the past, and the future, I will submit my judgment upon this interesting subject. During the war, and the dearth, I was silent, though I did not always approve of what was done, or said. Now, that we have peace, and plenty, I will freely deliver my sentiments, which, to those, who may not recollect, that I am not writing for any party,  
will,

will, perhaps, appear to be contradictory. It is necessary, in the first place, to lay before the reader, a *Statement of the Prices of Wheat*, according to the audit book of Eton College, from 1685, to 1771, and from this year to 1801, according to the average of the Eton prices, reduced, however, to the statute quarter, and to the middling quality, and of Mr. Catherwood's prices of England and Wales; of the excess of Exports and Imports of Corn, from the year 1696, to 1800, inclusive, including Scotland, after the union; together with the bounties, which were paid, during the several periods, wherein bounties were given: the bounties of the three years, ending with 1691, and those of the five years, ending with 1696, were computed at only the half of what the bounties amounted to, in the subsequent years, when the prices of corn were the same.

A TABLE; shewing the average prices of middling Wheat, per *statute* quarter; the average Excess of the Exports of every sort of Corn, Flour, and Meal; the average Imports of the same; and the whole Bounties paid on the Corn exported; during the years of the averages:

	The Prices of Wheat per <i>stat.</i> qr.		The excess of Exports.	The excess of Imports.	The Bounties paid.
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	Quarters.	Quarters.	£.
3 years average, ending with 1688 -	27	4	—	—	None.
3 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1691 -	26	—	—	—	66,600
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1696 -	47	9	—	—	60,000
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1701 -	42	8	139,866	—	26,773
6 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1707 -	25	11	289,304	—	310,087
4 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1711 -	49	9	299,367	—	192,533
4 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1715 -	37	8	453,986	—	288,501
4 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1719 -	33	1	485,852	—	248,192
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1724 -	28	10	532,732	—	388,204
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1729 -	37	7	216,643	—	286,829
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1734 -	25	9	468,844	—	445,496
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1739 -	30	10	597,462	—	576,550
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1744 -	28	7	446,378	—	396,941
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1749 -	27	9	932,593	—	775,137
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1754 -	30	5	1,080,077	—	964,340
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1759 -	36	2	273,805	—	354,332
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1764 -	30	7	676,117	—	703,170
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1769 -	43	7	—	233,184	156,505
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1774 -	47	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	276,206	24,036
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1779 -	40	9	—	290,595	193,225
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1784 -	45	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	185,906	167,764
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1789 -	43	3	—	198,716	268,148
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1794 -	47	2	—	1,145,584	106,544
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1799 -	63	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	1,191,131	138
The one year - - 1800 -	113	4	—	2,259,379	<u>7,000,045</u>



The epoch of the *bounty* on corn is 1689. In my copy of the Statutes, the bounty is called a *reward to persons exporting corn*\*. The price of middling whrat, at that epoch, according to a five years average, ending with 1689, was 28*s.* 9*d.* a statute quarter. A long period of fine seasons had reduced the market value to that low price. And this low price, and these fine seasons, induced the parliament to pass the before mentioned act, "for encouraging the exportation of corn"; when wheat should be at 48*s.* or under. The value of money was, at that epoch, in the ratio of 226, in 1689, to 562, in 1800†; and, of consequence, £ 1. in 1689, had as much power over the necessaries of life, as £. 2. 9*s.* 8¼*d.* had, in 1800.

The fine seasons did not continue long. The seasons, however, were, so far favourable, in 1690, and 1691, as to reduce the prices below the average of 28*s.* 9*d.* notwithstanding the bounty, and the act, encouraging exportation. The seasons changed from good to bad, in 1692; and continued extremely unfavourable till 1702, when the price fell below the average of 28*s.* 9*d.* Those times were long remembered, as the *dear* years of the Revolution, when the price of *middling* wheat rose to 56*s.* the *statute* quarter, in 1696. We have had no such scarcity,

\* 1 Wm. & Mary, ch. 12.

† See Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's interesting, and important, *Table* of the appreciation of money, in *the Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1798, p. 176.

and dearth, during late times. The fine seasons returned in 1702, and continued till 1708. Two, or three, unfavourable seasons carried up the prices of wheat to 62*s.* in 1709, and to 61*s.* 7*d.* in 1710. The high prices of 1800, considering the depreciation of money, were not so high, as those of 1709, and 1710. A long course of favourable seasons now succeeded; and continued, with very little interruption, till 1756, and 1757, when the price of middling wheat rose to 47*s.* 4*d.* the statute quarter, which, having a regard to the depreciation of money, was still under the low price of 1689. At length, clamour, and tumult, began; which have continued, during bad seasons, till the present times.

Some insist that the bounties have fructified our fields: some, that they have not prevented the return of bad seasons, nor benefited our farmers, in good seasons. The late Dr. Adam Smith maintained that, without benefiting the farmers, the bounty did harm, to the great body of the people, in two respects; it raised the price, in the home market; and it transferred vast sums of money, at the most distressful times, from the purses of the consumers, to the pockets of the jobbers\*. The Reverend John Howlett, with as sound a head as Doctor Smith, and more facts before his eyes, cannot see “the beneficial operation of the bounty †.” There

\* Wealth of Nations, v. ii. p. 266.

† The Dispersion of Gloomy Apprehensions, 1797. p. 22.

is a curious circumstance, which neither of those quick-sighted writers, distinctly, saw. Till the corn act of 1791, there was no proper mode prescribed by law, for ascertaining the prices of grain\*. The customers, who computed the bounty, at the custom-house, and the brokers, who received it, understood each other: but, neither the growers of corn, nor the consumers, knew the prices of grain, except the price of the narrow market, wherein they dealt. Neither did the king, and parliament, during former reigns, know the general prices of grain, except from the noise, and tumult, of the needy. Now, those facts, not only confirm the reasonings of Smith, and Howlett, but evince, that the bounty went directly from the pockets of the consumers into the purses of the brokers, yet without benefiting the growers. From the first establishment of the bounty till its recent cessation, from natural causes, upwards of seven millions of money have been paid by the public, not for a *good* purpose, but for a *bad* purpose. It has, moreover, created a continued contest, by a struggle between avarice, and want. And, to the scandal of the better judgment of the nation, a *probable good* has been allowed, for more than a century, to outface two *positive evils*: the *probable good* was the supposed fructification of our fields: the two *positive evils* were the payment of seven millions of money, for

\* The register of corn prices began, indeed, in 1771; but, it was inadequate to its end.

making corn dearer in the home market, without contributing to the manurance of the soil\*.

The struggle, and perseverance, in promoting the export of the produce of agriculture, in former times, appears quite wonderful to the harassed eyes of the present days. The dear years of the Revolution began, in 1692. The prices of grain rose to the greatest height, in 1696. They continued very high till 1699, when they began to abate, till the better seasons returned, in 1700. The export of corn was prohibited, in 1699, for one year †. The bounty was, soon afterwards, withdrawn, from the 9th of February, 1699, to the 20th of September, 1700 ‡. And, the duties, which were payable on the export of victual was repealed, for ever, in 1700 §. From those facts, it is apparent, that the king, and parliament, in those days, either did not know

\* By the corn act of 1773, the original bounty price of 48 s. a quarter of wheat was reduced to a rate under 44 s.; and this reduced rate was continued by the corn act of 1791. But, the 20 G. 3. ch. 31, seemed to introduce a new principle, when it allowed only one half of the bounty on corn, exported in neutral ships.

† By 10 Wm. ch. 3. By 10, 11, Wm. ch. 4. the distillery was stopped, for a season.

‡ By 11 Wm. ch. 1.—All those alleviations came, after the evil day had passed.

§ By 11, 12, Wm. ch. 20.—During that reign too, there was passed “ An Act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle.” 3 Wm. & M. ch. 8. The great ob-

know the state of the prices, or did not feel, for the miseries of the poor, with the same pungency, as the king, and parliament, feel at present. The years 1709, and 1710, were times of greater dearths, though perhaps of less calamity, than those of king William's reign. The only anodyne, which was applied, in those two years, was the measure of preventing the export of corn, for one year, without withdrawing the bounty\*. There was very little grain imported, during those two periods of severe dearths. And, this fact seems to evince, that the prevailing passion for export, on both those sad occasions, drove the consumers to rigid œconomy, which, generally, is the best resource.

A long course of favourable seasons prevented the return of dearth till 1740, which was not comparable to the dear years of king William, and queen Anne. The export of corn was, however, stopped, in 1741. The same measure was adopted, in 1757, when a worse season, in the preceding year, occasioned a louder outcry, and greater tumult. The outcry, and the tumult, and the alarm, rose to a greater height, during the unfavourable seasons of

ject of this encouragement, which was given at the commencement of the dear years, consisted, in taking off the duties on the *exportation* of all the products of agriculture. I do not observe, that any measure was taken, during nine years of want, to stop the exportation, or to repeal this act, giving a reward, for raising the prices of the products of agriculture, in the home market.

\* By the 3 An. ch. 2.



1765, 1766, 1767, though neither the nominal, nor the real, prices of victual were equal to those of the times of queen Anne, or king William. It was this clamour of contradiction, which induced ingenious men to attribute the apparent prices, and subsequent distress, to *the depreciation of money*. Montesquieu, and Hume, had already talked of the effect of riches, and luxury, upon the necessaries of life. But, it was Soame Jenyns, who long sat at the Board of Trade, who professedly inculcated, “ that the present high price of provisions “ [1766] arises, principally, from the poverty of “ the public; and the wealth of individuals\*.” But, as he knew not how to calculate the depreciation of money, he was unable to apply it, specifically, to his point.

The passion, which had so long contrived *ways and means*, for *exporting* the necessaries of life, was at length met by a contrary passion. And, from 1766, to 1773, encouragements were, continually, offered, for the importation of the necessaries of life †. This importation, and that passion, continued to the present times. The year 1796 is the

\* In his *Thoughts on the Causes, and Consequences, of the present high Price of Provisions*; Doddsley, 1767, 8vo. He was, immediately, answered, by a pamphlet, abusing all the servants of the public, who were the very persons, that suffered the most, from *the depreciation of money*.

† By the various acts of parliament, in those times. The obvious change, in the current of the corn trade, may be traced back not only to the bad seasons, but, to those parliamentary acts.

epoch of the bounty on the *importation* of victual\*. This first essay cost the nation £.565,802. The unfavourable seasons, and the continued fright, gave rise to greater, and more various bounties, on the *importation* of victual†. This second essay has already intercepted, in its course to the exchequer, no less than £.1,251,479. Of victual, there was imported, in 1800, as we have seen, 2,259,379, statute quarters. Such are the effects of carrying policy to extremes: in one period, *exportation* was too much *rewarded*: in another, *importation* was too much *forced*. The people——

———“ Feel by turns the bitter change

“ Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce.”

In the mean time, something like a *corn system* was adopted, in 1773, by regulating the export, and import, of grain, according to given prices‡. Yet, was that system said “ to be founded on radical mistakes§.” During the subsequent eighteen years, the *corn laws* were involved in a complete chaos. The ablest lawyers in England could not say, distinctly, by what law the exports, and imports, of grain were to be regulated. In this state of legal anarchy, one of the greatest statesmen, whom this country has ever produced, undertook the ar-

\* 36 Geo. 3. ch. 21.

† 39, 40 Geo. 3. ch. 29. 41 Geo. 3. ch. 10.

‡ 13 Geo. 3. ch. 43.

§ Mr. Young's Pol. Arithmetic, p. 40.

duous task of drawing order from confusion. All the elaboration of diligence, and all the wisdom of experience, were now employed, in forming the Corn Act of 1791\*. Yet, alas! what is the wisdom of the wise. A continued succession of unfavourable seasons has rendered nugatory the judicious regulations of that systematic law.

During more than half a century, we have been stunned with controversy about *the corn laws*, which seem to be abrogated, by a higher power than parliament. “The grand, and leading, error; upon this subject, seems to be,” says the Rev. John Howlett, “that we ascribe too much to human contrivance; and too little to providential superintendance†.” When this able man made this deep remark, he had before him many facts. When the late Doctor Smith argued this question, he could only see, with systematic eyes, *the disparagement of silver*. After viewing the whole operation of the corn laws, with a very acute intellect, Mr. Howlett\* “thought it manifest, that the various *changes* in our *corn laws* are so far from having been the only, or even any considerable, cause of the decrease of our exports (of corn,) that there is no necessity for supposing, they have been any cause at all”. With this opinion, I

\* 31 Geo. 3. ch. 30. This act, however, was not, finally, passed, as it had been, originally, proposed. See the notes on p. 40, 41, of the *Corn Representation*, lately printed for Stockdale.

† His Dispersion, 1797, p. 21.

‡ Id.

After a long consideration of the *corn-accounts*, which were printed by order of parliament, in November 1800, and weighing collateral circumstance appears to me, that the seasons, either good, bad, have been the efficient causes of plenty scarcity, from the epoch of the exportation to the present times. After fully considering this interesting subject, the series of corn-laws appeared to me, like continued attempts to regulate the seasons. In the weighty consideration of fixing the necessaries of life, there are two points which are beyond the power of parliament: the legislature cannot regulate the course of the seasons; neither can the legislature controul the subtile and silent, depreciation of money, which fees have the all-powerful force of *steam*: the effect of unfavourable seasons may be mitigated, by the best system of agriculture: the unhappy influence of the depreciation of money may be remedied, by the rigid œconomy of individuals.

As much, then, with regard to *the bounty*, and to *corn-laws*: I will now speak of the recent decrees which proceeded from various causes. The principal cause was, undoubtedly, a long series of unfavourable seasons. We have, as I have already shown, not only a greater number of people to feed; but, a greater number of opulent, and wasteful people to feed; owing to the favourable change in the circumstances of a great many people. In the mean time, the whole necessaries were sold upon the principles of *concert*.

From Cornwall to Cathness, there is an understanding among the sellers, who never for that the consumers are wholly in their power. And, by means of this understanding, and of concert, there is not a free market in Britain where the balance of supply, and demand, can vary, without the interruptions of avarice. Some of those evils have been attributed to the bank. It has been urged, that the paper of the bank of England has greatly contributed to raise the price of corn, and cattle. The abstract position is obviously absurd: and, the arguments, which have been given, in support of that absurdity, I have always considered, as nonsensical. If it had been admitted, that the discounts of the bank promote circulation; that circulation encourages industry; that industry energizes agriculture, manufacture, commerce; that all these create wealth; that wealth engenders luxury; that luxury creates consumption; that consumption affects the prices; I should have admitted these several deductions to be so many *truisms*: But, it is not true, in point of fact, that the paper of the bank of England ever comes in direct contact with prices, though they meet a long course of circulation. It seems, very certain, that the country banks furnish *accommodations* to farmers: yet, have not farmers a more right to the benefits of *accommodations*, merchants, and other tradesmen, have, to loans, and advances, and other commercial business. The talk about paper money, on this occasion is only



only an out that we are an opulent, and free-  
 spending peo!

Whether that war has had any great influence on prices, haeen doubted by some, and denied by others. here is, scarcely, a paradox, that some philofops have not maintained. Some of our political onomifts have clofely followed their tract, in the pdoxical line. One truth is clear: it was not the *word* war, nor the *thing*, which raised the pric in the domeftic market: but our fleets, and our nies, have large mouths, that muft be fupplied: a when the public agents go into the market, wi additional demands, the prices muft neceffarily rife; fince the price is governed by the demand, and the fupply. If there fhould be an additional mand, and a lefs fupply, during feafons of fcarc, the public agents muft, undoubtedly, raife prices, in a high degree. But, fome other effect of war contributed to enhance the prices ftill mo. When the affeffed taxes, and the income tax, ve collected, the fuppliers of the neceffaries of life ntrived to impofe their proportion of thofe taxes n the confumers, in the prices of the neceffary artes. The public agents have withdrawn from th markets: yet, the confequences of the war affect th confumers, during the enjoyment of peace.

This intimation ads to a flicht confideration of *the depreciation of mey*. The mean appreciation, from 1689, the eich of the export bounty on  
 corn,

corn, to 1800, is, in the ratio of 6 to 562, nearly\* : now, the result is, that £.1. 1689, had as great a power over the necessaries of life, as £.2. 9s. 8½d. had, in 1800. From the same *appreciation*, there is another result. According to a five years average, ending with 1799, the price of middling wheat, per statute quarter, was £.1. 8s. 8½d. : now, this sum had as great a power over the necessaries of life, as £.3. 115d. in 1800 : and the average price of five dear years, ending with 1799, was only £.3. 3s. 5½d. : so that this *high* price of five *dear* years was not so large as the *low* price of middling wheat, in the five *plentiful* years, ending with 1689. From the foregoing results, we may infer, that the dear years of rent times were not equal in dearthness, and misery, the dear years of a century before. The depreciation of money, according to Sir George Shuourgh Evelyn's table, from 1696 to 1800, was in the ratio of 234.52 to 562, nearly : so that £. in 1696, was equal, in power, to £2. 7s. 11 in 1800 : and, of consequence, the average price of wheat, in the very dear year 1696, was equal to £.6. 14s. 2d. in the very dear year 1800. The depreciation, according to the same curious, and important, *table*, from 1710 to 1800, was in the ratio of 247½ to 562, nearly : so that £.1. in 1710 was equal in

\* See Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's *Table of the appreciation of money*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1798, p. 176.

energy to £2. 5s. 5d. in 1800: now, the average price of the quarter of middling wheat, in 1709, was £. 3. 2s. which, in power over necessaries, was equal to £. 7. 0s. 9½d. in 1800. It is, therefore, demonstrable, that the dearnefs, and distrefs, of recent times, were not equal to the dearnefs, and distrefs, of the feveral reigns of king William, and queen Anne. Under Providence, we owe the favourable difference of late times to the better ftate of our agriculture; proceeding from that gradual progrefs of improvement, which has been traced, during the two laft centuries; and which has doubled in its progrefs, during the prefent reign, and has redoubled its many meliorations, during the laft fix and thirty years.

This fubject of the *depreciation of money* is fo interefting to the *ftate*, to the governed, as well as to the governors; that I will prefume to exhibit it, in a different light. By a parliamentary arrangement, in 1760, the civil lift revenue was compensated, by an annuity of £. 800,000; his Majesty having graciously offered to relinquish his hereditary revenues, in confideration of an equivalent. It is a parliamentary principle, which has been long fettled, that whoever, whether the prince, or the peasant, relinquishes any rights, for the benefit of the public, fhall receive a full compensation. On that principle, was the faid annuity of £. 800,000 fettled, by parliament, on his Majesty, in lieu of his hereditary revenues\*. Upon that annuity, the depreci-  
ation

\* 1 Geo. 3. ch. 1. The hiftorian of our revenue does not diftinctly

ation of money attached, as it equally attaches upon all other annuities. It was found necessary, therefore, in 1777, to bring the arrears of the civil list before the parliament, for its just consideration. The civil list debt was paid: and, the said annuity was enlarged to £.900,000, without any very minute calculation, whether £.900,000, in 1777, had the same power over the necessaries of life, as £.800,000 had, in 1760. The depreciation of money, from 1760 to 1800, according to the important *Table*, before-mentioned, was in the ratio of 342 to 562: so that £.1, in 1760, could command as many of the necessaries of life, as £.1. 12s. 10d. in 1800: and, consequently, an annuity of £.800,000, in 1760, was equal, in its faculties, to an annuity of £.1,314,619. 17s. 7½d. in 1800. Such, then, are some of the effects of the depreciation of money, which, as they are subtle, and silent, cannot be easily

tinctly state that arrangement, which comprehends the royal grace, and the parliamentary engagement. The learned Baronet, however, recapitulates the various sums, which, from time to time, have been paid, in supplementary aid, of the civil list; and, at length, infers, that the total, during the space of twenty-eight years, amounts to £.923,196, *per annum*. Sir J. Sinclair's *Hist. of the Public Revenue*, vol. 3, p. 72. But, his sagacity seems not to have perceived, that the depreciation of money was outrunning the annuity; and his algebra did not discover, by computation, that £.923,196, in 1786, were not equal, in power of purchase, to £.800,000, in 1760: in fact, according to the *Table*, and the principles, before mentioned, an annuity of £.900,000 was equal, in its energies, during the year 1760, to an annuity of £.1,478,947. 7s. 4d. in 1800. Now, *the Mathematics* cannot be outfaced by confidence, nor outargued by declamation!

foreseen,



foreseen, and cannot be wholly prevented. I have now spoken of the several points of our political œconomy, which I proposed to discuss, with the freedom of a man, who always thinks for himself.

Such also were some of the effects of the seventh great war, in which Britain has been engaged, since the Revolution of 1688. It is one of the principal objects of the foregoing estimate to state the losses of her trade from each of those wars. And, we have beheld, with wonder, and comfort, that our shipping, and commerce, have, at the return of each successive pacification, been invariably more extensive, than during each preceding period of tranquillity. It has been observed, also, that in proportion as the people of the British dominions became more enlightened, more industrious, and more opulent, they equally became more able to meet the misfortunes of business, and to bear the embarrassments of war.

The events, which occurred, during the late war, as well as in the period preceding, are proofs of that position. It must, indeed, be allowed, that individuals, and classes, were pressed down, by inequalities, which, however unable they are to bear burdens, cannot easily be foreseen, nor always prevented. The first effects of war, in our happy island, which never feels the ravages of the foe, are new debts, and additional taxes. Every year of hostilities brings with it some fresh loan, with appropriate subsidies to fund it. But, it will answer, sufficiently, our present purpose, since the war is concluded, to give a general view of the debts of the state, and the burdens on the people.



THE FUNDED DEBT,

On the 5th of January, 1786, was	-	-	-	-	-	-
On the 5th of January, 1793, was	-	-	-	-	-	-
On the 1st of February, 1801, (the total of the <i>old</i> debt) was	-	-	-	-	-	-
Since the 1st of February, 1793, (the <i>new</i> debt created,) was	-	-	-	-	-	-
Of these sums, £. 19,708,750, capital, and £. 9,791, long annuities, were on account of Ireland; £. 56,445,000 were charged on the Income Tax: and, on the 1st of February, 1801, the Sinking-fund Commissioners had redeemed of the new debt £. 16,182,094:						
Hence	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leaving, as the permanent debt of the war	-	-	-	-	-	-
On the 1st of February, 1801, the whole of the old, and new, debt was	-	-	-	-	-	-

<sup>a</sup> On the 1st of February, 1793, the sinking fund commissioners had purchased £. 10,242,100, of the principal debt; and annuities, amounting to £. 79,880, had fallen in; which two sums thenceforth formed essential parts of the sinking fund.

<sup>b</sup> This sum includes £. 1,000,000, which was applicable to the reduction of the debt; and also the dividends on £. 10,242,100 stock redeemed; and, moreover, the amount of the annuities fallen in:—making together £. 387,143.

<sup>c</sup> On the 1st of February, 1801, stock, amounting to £. 36,099,562 had been bought by the sinking fund commissioners; and £. 123,477 annuities having fallen in, formed an additional part of the sinking fund: and £. 16,083,802 stock had been transferred to them, for the land tax redeemed.

<sup>d</sup> The above annuities are exclusive of £. 230,000 annuities, which were created, by statute, to the emperor of Germany.

		Annuites, Long, and Short.	The Prin- cipal.	Interest, and Management.
-	-	£. 1,373,550	£. 238,231,248	£. 9,297,000
-	-	1,293,670	227,929,148 <sup>a</sup>	10,325,000 <sup>b</sup>
-	-	1,250,073	186,047,884 <sup>c</sup>	
Annuites d.	Principal e.			
£. 312,664	£. 306,997,792			
9,791	92,335,844			
-	-	£. 302,873 <sup>f</sup>	£. 214,661,948	£. 10,388,297 <sup>g</sup>
-	-	£. 1,552,946	£. 400,709,832	£. 20,713,297

<sup>e</sup> The above principal is exclusive of £. 7,502,633, 3 per cent. stock, which were created, by advances, to the same emperor: but, it includes the capital borrowed by the loan of 1801, with its coincidents.

<sup>f</sup> Of this sum, the income tax defrays £. 19,666.

<sup>g</sup> This sum includes £. 1,812,817, for the interest, and charges, of the loan of 1801. Of the whole sum, £. 7,574,289 were, for interest, and management, of the national debt, which was unredeemed, on the 1st of February, 1801:—and, £. 2,814,008 arise from the one per cent. sinking fund annexed to every loan, and also the interest of the stock redeemed. A further charge of £. 497,735 per annum is guaranteed, by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans, by the said emperor.

Such, then, was the funded debt of the state, as it is stated, veraciously, on the Common's Journals. Since the epoch of our national debts, there have always stood against the state certain unfunded debts, similar to the current accounts of individuals. Such claims cannot be settled, till they be known; and they cannot be known, till the expences have been, for some time, incurred. The efforts of our several wars have been constantly embarrassed by unliquidated debts: and such debts have tended to embitter the successive return of every peace. To wind up *the tail* of the American war required the imposition of taxes, which amounted to upwards of £.938,000 a year, as we have already seen. It is a great step towards the satisfaction of unsettled claims, either public, or private, when they are ascertained, and acknowledged. The same spirit, which, in financial affairs, has avowed publicity to be the best policy, has left no doubt, with regard to the amount of the unsatisfied claims on the state. The *unfunded* debt, on the 5th of January, 1793, exclusive of the well-known anticipations of the annual grants, was — — — £.8,925,422.

The same debt, on the 5th of January, 1801, exclusive of £.3,000,000, which was advanced by the *Bank*, without interest, for the renewal of her charter; and which is to be repaid, in 1806; was — — — 17,946,186.

The great cause of the frequent accumulation of our unfunded debts is the navy, the safe-guard, and glory, of the nation. From its magnitude, and its contingencies, no less of the unfunded debt of 1801, than £. 5,361,489 were incurred, for the necessary reparations of our *wooden walls*. Other services had demanded an additional issue of exchequer bills, amounting to £. 3,740,300. And, these two services swelled the unfunded debt, of 1801, beyond that of 1793, to the sum of £. 9,020,764. Prudence has, however, made a recent provision, for much of this floating debt, which depressed public credit, by its weight, and embarrassed private speculations, by its looseness\*.

Of public debts, whether unfunded, or funded, the true anodyne is a sinking-fund. This remedy has existed in our *Dispensary*, since the year 1717, by the annual appropriation of £. 323,434. Yet, has not this anodyne always been administered, with the attention, and success, which were due to its efficacy. The powers of a sinking-fund, however recommended by publication, were almost forgotten, when it was adopted, as we have seen, under happier auspices, at the end of seventy years †. A sinking fund of £. 250,000, a quarter, was settled by law, in 1786. The energies of this quarterly sum was strengthened, in 1792, by a grant of £. 400,000,

\* By the 42 G. 3, ch. 8, there were funded £. 6,500,000 of exchequer bills. By the 42 G. 3. ch. 9, power was given to raise £. 5,000,000, by exchequer bills.

† See before p. 179—183.

and to this great addition, was superadded, in every subsequent year, £.200,000. At the end of the sixth year, it had, with these helps, acquired, for the state, of public debts to the amount of £.9,441,850. It had thus outrun, in this short period, the calculations of malignant science £.2,649,237. The objection to those salutary measures, which struck the apprehensions of men the most, was the intimation, that the first distresses of war would convert the sinking fund into one of the *ways and means* of the year. This apprehension was removed by a parliamentary declaration, in 1792, that every new loan, in future, should carry its own sinking fund along with it\*. The sinking fund had now shewn its energies; the people had felt its benefits; and the parliament had augmented its powers, and provided for its continuance.

The hostilities of 1793, as they demanded a new loan, also created, under the late declaration, a new sinking fund. In the same manner every loan, during the late war, was accompanied by its own provision, for its repayment. The world now saw great examples of the privations of the people, and of the magnanimity of parliament, in adhering to previous engagements, for supporting public credit. The publicity of all those measures added much to their success. The public debts were, from time to time, computed, and ascertained. The applications

\* By the act 32 G. 3. ch. 55, which invigorated the 26 G. 3. ch. 31; and which strengthened the *old*, by laying the foundation of a *new* sinking fund.



of the sinking fund, its past appropriations, and future powers, were inquired into, by a parliamentary committee. At the epoch of that inquiry, in 1797, it was found that,

The <i>old</i> sinking fund amount-	
ed yearly to	- - - £. 1,941,320. 6s. 2d.
The <i>new</i> sinking fund to	- 1,418,479. 0s. 0d.
	<hr/>
The amount of both to	£. 3,359,799. 6s. 2d.
	<hr/>

The <i>first</i> was then operating	
on the old debt of	- - - £. 240,000,000.
The <i>second</i> was operating on	
the new debt of	- - - 130,665,896.
	<hr/>

It now became apparent, from calculation, that the *old* sinking fund, with all its supplementary aids, had *less* power of redemption over the *old* debt, than the *new* sinking fund had over the *new* debt. And, it was equally demonstrable, that the old debt of £. 240,000,000, might possibly be redeemed, in thirty-three years, from the 1st of February, 1797; and could not be of longer redemption than fifty-four years, from the same epoch\*.

The encouragements, arising from those intimations, seem only to have created desires of giving more energies to powers, which were already powerful. The *income tax* was granted, in 1798, as a

\* The Report of the Finance Committee, printed the 31st of March, 1797.

*contribution for carrying on a necessary war*\* : a similar *income tax* was granted, in 1799, but on different principles, and with dissimilar views †. At the same time, and with analogous purposes, the land tax was sold ; and the purchase money was transferred to the redemption of debts. In this manner was created, a *third* sinking fund, which, in its energies, was still more powerful, than either of the former. By the redemption of the land tax, £. 16,083,802 of stock were transferred to the commissioners of the sinking fund, who thus acquired the dividends, as the efficacious means of buying additional debts. By an obvious departure from its original design, the *income tax* was dedicated to the payment of £. 56,445,000 from the conclusion of the war, in 1801, to the end of the year 1811 : this then, is a sinking fund of £. 5,644,500. a year, for ten years ‡.

By those various operations, since 1786, for the speedy diminution of the national debts, the effects have been as great, as wise men foresaw, from the energies of such powerful machinery. Before the 1st of February, 1801, there had been redeemed of the old debt £. 52,183,364, and of the annuities £. 123,477 ; whereby the principal of the old debt had been reduced from £. 238,231,248 to £. 186,047,884, and the annuities to £. 1,250,073.

\* By 38 G. 3. ch. 16.

† 39 G. 3. ch. 13.

‡ Com. Journ. 22 June, 1801.

And, before the 1st of February, 1801, the sinking fund commissioners had redeemed, of the *new* debt, £.16,182,094, the dividends whereof, continually, form new means of redemption. The sinking fund, in 1786, was about 1-238th part of the capital permanent debt; the sinking fund, in 1793, was about 1-160th part of the same debt; and estimating the sinking fund, in 1801, at £. 5,500,000, this amount would be about 1-73d part of the permanent debt, in 1801\*. There will, moreover, fall in to the same fund, by the gradual effluxion of time, before the 5th of January, 1808, annuities for years, exclusive of annuities for lives, amounting to £.490,240. 4s. 9d†. As an account, between the exchequer, and the stock exchange, this is a very splendid statement, which does high honour to the wisdom of the parliament, and to the patience of the people.

\* Com. Journ. 22 June, 1801.

† Finance Report, 1786, App. N° 5. The following is a statement of the annuities, and of the times, when they will successively fall in to the sinking fund:

Annuities for Long Terms.	Principal.	Annuity and Management.	Time when they will fall in.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
£. 3,700 per week excise	456,530	31,830 6 8	5th April 1803
1706 - - -	360,445 18 9	24,724 11 6	D° 1805
1707 - - -	124,424	8,152 2 2	D° 1806
1st Act 1708 - -	75,368	4,918 12 7	D° 1807
2nd Act 1708 - -	162,896	10,597 5 3	5th July 1807
Annuities for 30 and 29 years	- - - -	410,017 6 7	5th Jan. 1808
		490,240 4 9	

Every

Every intimation evinces, indeed, that the resources of a nation, which possesses all the means of acquiring opulence; agriculture, manufactures, commerce, shipping; are almost inexhaustible. The vast wealth of Britain has been industriously obtained amidst wars, taxes, and debts. One of the great objects of this estimate has been to trace the progress of all these, and to shew the striking result. Yet, fresh events, exhibit new views of those interesting subjects. And, the subjoined statements of the permanent taxes, which had been imposed, before the war began, furnished additional proofs, that the resources of a knowing, opulent, and enterprising people, are beyond calculation. The following details will convey the informations of experience :

1784 } 5 Jan. }	The net produce of the permanent taxes was	-	£. 10,194,259
	Added, for funding the floating debts of the American war	- - -	938,000
			<hr/>
			£. 11,132,259
	Added from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed, in 1789	- -	137,000
			<hr/> <hr/>
1793, January 5,	all those taxes produced net	- -	£. 14,284,000
1794	D <sup>o</sup> - - D <sup>o</sup>	-	13,941,000

1795	D°	-	-	D°	-	£.13,858,000
1796	D°	-	-	D°	-	13,557,000
1797	D°	-	-	D°	-	14,292,000
1798	D°	-	-	D°	-	13,332,000
1799	D°	-	-	D°	-	14,275,000
1800	D°	-	-	D°	-	15,743,109
1801	D°	-	-	D°	-	14,194,539

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This last sum of net produce, deducting the duties, arising from the consolidation act, and the taxes imposed, in 1789, exceeded the net produce of the permanent taxes, on the 5th of January, 1784, together with those imposed, in 1784, and 1785, by the vast sum of £.2,925,539. And, this last sum, being the net produce of the old permanent taxes, on the 5th of January, 1801, fell below the net produce of the preceding year about £.1,150,000, owing, chiefly, to the bad effects of an unprosperous season.

In the mean time, there had been imposed the various taxes, which were necessary, for the *loans*, and expences of the late war; and which seem not to have lessened the produce of the previous revenue, as had happened, during the distressful times of king William.

- 1801, 5 Jan. The net produce of the taxes, which were imposed, since 5th Jan. 1793, was - - - £. 8,079,076.
- 1801, 5 Jan. The whole permanent-  
ed taxes amounted to 22,273,615.
-



In 1797, the gross receipt of taxes, deducting repayments, discounts, drawbacks, loans, and monies paid by government, was £. 23,076,179.

In 1798	D°	-	-	D°	30,176,303.
1799	D°	-	-	D°	34,750,976.
1800	D°	-	-	D°	33,535,016.

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This last produce, being an increase, compared with that of 1797, of £. 10,458,837; compared with that of 1798 of £. 3,358,713; and a diminution of £. 1,215,960, when compared with the produce of 1799. All those facts, having a proper regard to the unproductive seasons, indicate the vigorous faculties of this wealth-producing nation.

The future *income*, and *outgoing*, of the state, may be estimated, in the following manner:

The <i>old</i> permanent taxes at	-	-	£. 15,740,000
The <i>new</i> permanent taxes at	-	-	8,205,000
Further produce of the taxes of the			
years 1799, 1800, and 1801, at			2,350,000
The land, and malt, taxes at	-		2,558,000
			<hr/>
		The total at	£. 28,853,000
			<hr/>

This total is obviously exclusive of the profit of a lottery, and of any participation of the territorial revenues of the East India Company.

The outgoings must consist of the vast charges of the

the national debts; including, however, what has been bought, for the state, by the sinking fund commissioners: and, secondly, the peace establishment must be provided for, to whatever amount the wisdom of the nation may think proper, all circumstances of an extraordinary conjuncture duly considered.

Such were the financial operations, which this nation alone could perform, during a war, that has been beyond example expensive, from its unexampled efforts; and this expence was heightened, by unfavourable seasons, and the highest charge was made still more distressful, by a worse exasperation, the depreciation of money. Every financial contract has, however, been honestly executed. The malignant prophecies, which foretold, that the sinking fund would be converted into a war subsidy, the moment that hostilities should press upon the people, have happily remained unfulfilled. Instead of diverting that fund, from its salutary end, a second sinking fund has been made of more energy, than the first, and a third sinking fund has been superadded of more power of redemption, than both. A system of finance was, at length, adopted, in consequence of those various operations, which promised to preclude the increase of the national debt; as the permanent charges to be yearly incurred were never to exceed the annual amount of the sinking fund\*. In this manner, then, was every project of the ene-

\* Brief Examination, p. 14.

ny, for ruining our public credit, wholly disappointed. As new demands to a vast amount had thus been created, by means of those sinking funds, for the national debts, the public securities became, both in theory, and in fact, much more valuable, in the hands of the national creditors. It may now gratify a rational curiosity to see, by an enumeration of particulars, a comparative state of the prices of the public stocks, in the two *first* years of the last peace, and the two *last* years of the late war.

A STATEMENT of the prices of the 3 per cent. consols, in each month, of the four following years, comparing two years of *peace*, with two years of *war* :

	Peace.		War.	
	1784	1785	1800	1801
January	55 $\frac{6}{8}$	55 $\frac{3}{8}$	62	59 $\frac{4}{8}$
February	56 $\frac{4}{8}$	55 $\frac{6}{8}$	61 $\frac{5}{8}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$
March	58 $\frac{3}{8}$	55 $\frac{2}{8}$	63	56 $\frac{3}{8}$
April	56 $\frac{6}{8}$	56 $\frac{3}{8}$	63 $\frac{7}{8}$	59
May	58 $\frac{1}{8}$	58 $\frac{2}{8}$	64 $\frac{3}{8}$	60 $\frac{4}{8}$
June	58 $\frac{4}{8}$	57 $\frac{7}{8}$	64 $\frac{3}{8}$	60 $\frac{6}{8}$
July	57 $\frac{3}{8}$	57 $\frac{4}{8}$	63 $\frac{6}{8}$	59 $\frac{7}{8}$
August	56 $\frac{5}{8}$	57 $\frac{8}{8}$	63	59 $\frac{6}{8}$
September	55 $\frac{4}{8}$	58 $\frac{7}{8}$	65 $\frac{6}{8}$	59 $\frac{6}{8}$
October	54 $\frac{5}{8}$	63	64 $\frac{6}{8}$	67 $\frac{3}{8}$
November	55 $\frac{1}{8}$	68	64 $\frac{1}{8}$	67 $\frac{7}{8}$
December	55 $\frac{5}{8}$	71 $\frac{5}{8}$	62 $\frac{7}{8}$	67 $\frac{3}{8}$

During all those operations of finance, and of war, the gains of our enterprizing people were beyond calculation, however the unproductive classes may have suffered, from the depreciation of money, and the inequality of taxation. Our commerce became

came more than double to its greatest extent, during the happiest years of peace\*. We added mean time many ships to our ancient stock †. And, above all those causes of comfort, we improved the surface of our island, during the pressures of war, and the infelicities of seasons, beyond the greatest enterprizes of the most prosperous times ‡.

At length, peace came unlooked for, on a day, which will always be deemed propitious to Britain. The new century dawned on the British isles, with a very inauspicious aspect. While they were engaged, in an arduous contest, with a people, who had either overpowered, or overawed, the continental states, the nations of the north entered into a league, that had, for its end, the ruin of the naval strength of Great Britain. The pilots, who had conducted our vessel through many a storm, relinquished the helm, while the clouds looked black, in our horizon. At this portentous moment, God thought fit to afflict his majesty with sickness. The king's recovery, as it was granted to the prayers of his people, was also marked, by the appointment of new steersmen, while our atmosphere was still

\* See before the Chronological Table.

† There were, in 1793, of registered shipping belonging to Great Britain, 1,367,420 tons, and, in 1800, 1,628,439 tons.

‡ In the eight years of war, ending with 1800, the parliament, as we have seen, passed acts, for local improvements, to the number of — — — — 1,124  
 In the eight years of preceding peace — — — — 750

over

overclouded, by many vapours of ill omened darkness. Such a crisis, as it was unexampled, required many trials of temper, great efforts of perseverance, and greater exertions of fortitude.

These national virtues, as they were practised to their full extent, were rewarded with proportional success. The valour, and the skill, of our seamen, soon convinced the Danes, that their defences, however constructed by science, and defended by bravery, were unable to protect their capital. In the moment of victory, our humanity taught them, that they might trust to our moderation, after their own resources had failed. The confidence of their Rivals in peace, and Associates in hostility, was abated, as much by our conciliation, as by our success. The demise of the sovereign of Russia introduced reason, into her councils, and sense, into her politics. And, the troubles of the Baltic were calmed by a convention, which will be long remembered, in our naval jurisprudence, as it secured our naval power upon systematic principles, that were now acknowledged: by yielding something to misconception; by explaining doubts; by removing difficulties: we preserved the essence of our naval practice, without departing from our national dignity\*. In the conduct of nations, statesmen, if they be wise, will allow themselves to be governed by the circumstances, wherein they are placed, whether adverse, or fortunate.

\* See a *Vindication of the Russian Convention*, in Six Letters, which were lately printed for Wright, in Piccadilly.

Meantime,



Meantime, our soldiers hastened to Egypt, where they emulated the disciplined intrepidity of our sailors. Victory attended their efforts. And, their perseverance, their conduct, and their valour, compelled a brave, an artful, and an obstinate enemy to capitulate, after every effort to relieve a favourite army had failed. At the same time that France was thus unsuccessful, in sending succours to a settlement, which she ardently wished to save, she was equally unable to protect her own coasts from bombardment, while she threatened ours. We may easily suppose, that the pacification of the *North*; the misfortunes of the *South*; the spirit of our people; and the address of our statesmen; induced the foe, after a long struggle between his subtilty, and necessities, to think seriously of pacification.

An unlooked for peace, as it had been settled in silence, was hailed by general acclamations. But, the affairs of life do not admit of unanimity. There will ever be conceit and self-sufficiency; interest and disappointment; envy and malignity; to disapprove of every mode of treaty, and to contest every specification of terms, which the wisdom of man can devise. He, however, who comes out to oppose the return of peace, with all her train of blessings, ought to be provided with strong reasons, for his opposition, if he have any character to support, or any name to risk.

The statesman, who enters into the vestibule of the temple of concord, needs not vouch *necessity*, for jus-

tifying a step, that is to bring peace to the people, while he pushes far from their business, and bosoms, war, with his poignard, and his poison. Peace is a deity to be courted: war is a demon to be driven away. Peace, when lost, is a benefit, which ought to be regained, by every stratagem of address, and every effort of conciliation: war, when pressing upon us, is a burden to be thrown off, on the first occasion, upon whatever motive. In every fair discussion upon the topics of peace, and war, the debate must turn upon the *terms*, rather than the *principle*; since peace, in itself, is a good; while war, in itself, is an evil: and, the statesmen, who produces pacification, in the place of hostilities, merits "general applause, and cheerful shout;" but not the snarl of disappointment, the growl of malignity, or the contestation of self-sufficiency. To all those, then, who prefer the miseries of war to the comforts of peace, may be applied what Burchleigh intimated, with prophetic silence, to Essex, in the presence of Elizabeth, and in the words of the Psalmist: "blood thirsty men shall not outlive half their days."

I do not, therefore, concur with those, who defend peace, by the plea of *necessity*; because what is desirable ought always to be welcome: and what is desirable, and welcome, is an object of applause, rather than a charge for defence. I do not agree, then, that our late peace was either called for by *necessity*, or ought to be vindicated by notions of

*necessity* :

*necessity*: nor, do I admit, that our late peace needs any vindication; as it is fit in itself. Nay: admitting the general principle to be indisputable, may not peace be ill-timed, ill-negotiated, unadvised, and unsafe?

Yes: but, was the late peace *ill-timed*? We had calmed the troubles of the north, by measures of such energy, and address, as did honour to the valour of our arms, and to the temper of our negotiation: we there displayed our magnanimity, while we secured our rights. Our arms had equally triumphed, in the south, on those arid sands, where the enemy erewhile had gathered laurels, which were now blasted by our equal conduct, and superior valour. France, virtually, avowed to all Europe her inferiority, when she could not succour the distress of her settlement, nor avert the disgrace of her arms. And, it was in the hour of victory, not in the moment of defeat, that we offered negotiation, and agreed to peace. But, if you were successful, in the Baltic, and victorious, in Egypt, why make peace, why negotiate? To such light questions, in so weighty a cause, “this manifest, and unanswerable, argument” must be given; peace is ever desirable: war is always offensive. The late peace, then, was not *ill-timed*: but, it may have been *ill-negotiated*.

If secrecy and success, be proofs, however, of bad negotiation, the late peace must be allowed to be an ill-negotiated treaty. One statesman defeats his own ends, by his own stateliness: another statesman gains his purpose, by his condescension: that states-

man chooses to look at his measures through the spectacles of another: this thinks fit, to see with his own eyes; judging with Lavater, that the look, and manner, may sometimes disclose the working of the head, and often betray the concealments of the heart. Elizabeth, wishing to search the soul of Henry IV. about the peace of Vervins, sent her secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, to France: she sent Walsingham to James VI. of Scotland, with a similar design\*. It is no great disparagement to any of our statesmen to mention those accomplished secretaries of an able queen. Whether our present secretary ever moved from Downing-square to gain his desirable end, I am yet to learn. If the object, then, justify the means; and the means produce success; the treaty cannot be said to have produced an ill-negotiated peace.

. But, it is still supposed to have been *unadvised*. Yet, was the time well chosen; the means were successful; and the result was happy. This objection, then, is only one of the abuses of sophistry, which, with its usual artifice, converts prudence into imprudence, and transforms, with its magic wand, discretion into indiscretion.

Yet, allowing what has been proved, that the peace was not unadvised, the treaty is supposed to be unsafe. A full discussion of this topic would lead

\* Birch's Mem. of Q. Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 373: when Henry IV. being hard pressed in the argument, betrayed some impatience, Cecil said, to him, "He was no ordinary ambassador, respecting his place."



into a wide consideration of *the past, the present, and the future*. During every war, Great Britain is the enemy, from whom France has the most to fear; whether she consider the intelligence of her counsels, the bravery of her people, or the extent of her resources. During the late war, Great Britain was the only power, on whom France was unable to make any impression. Great Britain was the power, who gave France the severest blows, and inflicted on her the deepest wounds. Her fleets were thereby crippled; her coasts were blocked up; her trade was annihilated; her manufactures were ruined: and, during the last months of hostility, Great Britain triumphed over France, by land, as well as by sea. Peace with other powers was of little avail to France, while war with Great Britain remained: and peace with Great Britain, was, therefore, received by France, with the utmost fervour of welcome; because it brought with it the most tranquillity, and the most comfort; it produced the least fear of danger, either foreign, or domestic, and the most hope of profit, from internal industry, and external trade. If France, then, know her own interest, or feel her own happiness; if France, like other nations, reason from experience; she will not soon meditate another attack on her most intelligent, most powerful, and most persevering, opponent. As to considerations of *the present*; Great Britain enjoyed from the auspicious day of the signature of the preliminaries of pacification, most of the benefits of peace, with the usual energies of war.



As to *the future*, this must depend partly on our opposite, and partly on ourselves: if she recollect the experience of the past; if she value the profits of the present; if she regard the blessings of the future; France will not soon provoke the most powerful enmity of Britain. On our side; our statesmen will probably govern themselves, like their fathers, by the circumstances, wherein they may find themselves; by the operations of *time*, and chance, which happen to all men: but, one truth is certain,

“Come what come may,

“Time and the hour runs through the roughest day.”

From the era of *the Revolution* to the epoch of the preliminaries, our constitution has supported itself by its own energy against treason, privy conspiracy, and rebellion. *Jacobinism* always has been; and ever will be: but, such is the vigour of our constitution, that it can only be endangered by the self-sufficiency of those, who are entrusted, with its safety; and who seldom suspect their own conceits, “till warned, or by *experience* taught.” Those arms, which lately supported our rights, and spread our glories, will, no doubt, be laid up with circumspection, repaired with care; and renovated, with a proper attention to the past, to the present, and to the future.

Thus much, then, with regard to the general question, whether peace ought to be received with *cheerful shout*. We may now add a word, or two, on the *mode* of the treaty and its *terms*. It was laid down by France, we will suppose, for a preliminary principle,

principle, that, according to her constitution, whatever formed an integral part of the dominions of the republic could not be relinquished by negotiation. At the opening of the treaty, it thus became necessary for Britain to answer an important question, in moral arithmetic: it was now to be calculated, whether what she had conquered from France, was worth the expence of a campaign, without estimating the loss of lives, or the fickleness of fortune. If we assume the charge of 1801, as a proper average, we may fairly estimate the expences of the campaign of 1802, at forty millions. Now, would the fee simple of the conquered countries have sold for forty millions? No. Did they produce any subsidy, for carrying on the war? No. Would they, in peace, had they been retained, yielded any revenue, for easing the burdens of the people? No. We may allow these answers, from the experience of the past. The soil of the *Ceded Islands*, by the peace of 1763, sold for *twopence halfpenny farthing*. And, they yearly yielded no revenue, which could form *a way, or mean*, for easing the annual expence of the British people: they employed, however, a few ships; they furnished some factorages; and they consumed some manufactures. From this experience, we may infer, that the conquered countries, had they been retained, would not have paid one farthing of the interest of forty millions. It had been an absurdity, then, in moral arithmetic, to have retained those countries, if France had not required them. And, Great Britain, upon accurate

calculation, and a just view of the subject, wisely resolved to restore what was not a benefit, but a burden

The *factories*, which we have restored to France, in India, are merely *permissive possessions*: for, the declaration of future war, and the recapture of those possessions, will be performed, at the same period. The fishery of Newfoundland, which is now returned, is in a similar predicament: the termination of the period of peace, and of the fishery, must be the same. Whether such considerations will have any weight with France, in her future reasonings, with regard to the renewal of war, I pretend not to know. If sad experience have any weight, either with the governors, or the governed, we may reasonably hope, that our future hostilities will never carry conquest into the West India islands of France. They cost much to gain, and much to keep; and they only constitute objects of vulgar mortification, and factious debate, when they are asked, in negotiation, and are relinquished, by treaty.

Upon such motives, it probably was, that France demanded, and Britain relinquished the *conquered countries*, which had been taken by the one power, from the other.

Considering the war, with some statesmen, as partly a mercantile project, it may be proper to calculate what we have gained, by the restitution of our conquests, and what we should have lost, by retaining them. The quantity of British shipping, including

including the repeated voyages, and the inward, and outward entries, which was yearly employed in the trade of France, Flanders, Holland, Spain, and her western isles, amounted, according to a three years average, ending with 1800, Ships. Tons.

to - - - - - 5,744 - 581,440.

D<sup>o</sup> in the trade of the conquered West India islands, according to a three years average, ending with 1800 - - - - - 432 - 99,329.

The yearly balance of shipping, on the side of peace - 5,312 - 482,111.

Again: the value of British manufactures exported to France, Flanders, Holland, Spain, and the Canaries, according to a six years average, ending with 1792, was - - - £. 2,455,631.

D<sup>o</sup> to the conquered West India isles, exclusive of Trinidad, according to a six years average, ending with 1800 - - - - - 855,376.

The yearly balance, on the side of restitution - - - £. 1,600,255.

Viewing the war, then, as a mercantile project; and supposing what would not be far from the truth; that our trade with France, Flanders, Holland, Spain, and her Canaries, will return, with the restoration of peace, to nearly its former level; we may,



may, from those *details*, perceive how much we shall gain, by relinquishing those conquered countries, for peace.

On such a concession, it was natural for France, rising a little in her tone, to propose, “ that the “ *ocean* should be free, in war.” The object of this proposal was as obvious, as the answer was easy. The law of nations does not recognize the *freedom of the ocean*. Our naval policy, and true interest, forbid a concession, which would be fatal to both; and, if such a proposal be repeated, the negotiation must end. In these views of the subject, it is apparent, that the negotiation was conducted upon equal principles of perfect independence: France reasonably asked the restitution of those *factories*, and *fishery*, and *islands*, which our superiority had wrested from her. And, Britain conceded what her true interest dictated, after a fair computation, by moral arithmetic. France unreasonably asked *the freedom of the ocean*: and the naval interests of Britain dictated a flat refusal: yet, the negotiation went on, conceding the fit, and refusing the unreasonable, to a happy end. It is equally obvious, that if Britain had been a weaker power, either in intellect, or in force, a thousand pretensions had been insisted on, which may be found in recent treaties with other states; and which prudence must have yielded, or address eluded. But, in this preliminary agreement, there appears nothing, which, by concession, or refusal, can deduct one iota from the dignity of either of the contracting powers,



powers, however their several interests may be understood, from the various lights, wherein they appear.

Moral arithmetic, equally, dictated the restitution of our conquests from Spain, and Holland, when they were strenuously asked: similar calculations clearly demonstrated, that they were expensive, in war; that they had been unprofitable, in peace: and, we have seen how little was to be gained, by an industrious people, on a *commercial* calculation of their profit, and loss, had we retained the Dutch, and Spanish, dominions. When the minds of statesmen are inflamed with ambition, and heated with conquest, they cannot admit petty calculations of profit, and loss, whatever may be the truth of their several results. I will cool the minds of such statesmen, by setting them a question to answer from moral arithmetic. Would the whole of our conquests, had they been ten times more, been an adequate compensation to THE PEOPLE, for the taxes imposed on them, by the necessities of war, amounting, yearly, to £. 10,555,000, and the income tax of £. 5,800,000, in addition? No. Among cool men, the proper answer must be, PEACE is the proper compensation; having manfully defended *the land we live in*, and successfully maintained our religion, and laws.

With all those relinquishments, we have also relinquished *the Cape of Good Hope*, on which some statesmen have set a wonderful value. During the possession of the Dutch, *the Cape* was a sort of *free port*,

*port*, where ships might find the conveniencies of wood and water; and shipmen might buy, and sell; paying the prices, and duties, of the place. After our conquest of it, the king, by an order of council, in December, 1796, put the trade of the place, on nearly a similar footing, *as to people in amity*: they might all wood and water, buy and sell, paying the local duties; the British trader having some petty advantage. The sovereignty of the Cape is now relinquished; but the free port is retained: and we have, therefore, prudently, kept *the benefit*; while we have wisely thrown off *the burden*. Yet, some of our statesmen, and orators, have been disposed to set a vast value on *the Cape*. If we had established, indeed, at this extremity of Africa, a naval arsenal, with a numerous fleet, and a powerful army, the Cape might both, in war, and peace, have over-awed Southern America; have suppressed the insurrections of the United Irishmen at Botany bay; and might have quashed the eternal troubles of the Indian Peninsula. But, at whose cost? Not of the statesmen, and orators, but at the expence of the people. Now, by this peaceful arrangement, the people are to enjoy all the pleasure, and profit, of the Cape, without paying one farthing of the expence.

We have, however, retained Trinidad, and Ceylon. Nature has placed them, happily on the globe: the one, on the advantageous coast of America; the other, near the commanding extremity of India: they both have commodious harbours, for  
the

the king's navy, and the merchant's shipping: the one has foil; the other has spiceries: and, they both have great *capabilities*, which, according to the uses, that we make of them, by our attentions, and expence, will give them importance, and constitute their value. But, it is to *peace*, that we must look, for the compensation of our late expences, and for the comfort of our future hopes.

Our moderation has concurred with our policy, in restoring Malta to its true owners. By placing it, prudently, in their hands, under a most *powerful* guarantee; we have counteracted the state, who was ambitious to possess it, by whatever title. In our hands, Malta had been an enormous expence, without any perceivable profit. Having Gibraltar, we did not want its position, or its port: its commerce would have partaken of the unimportance of the Levant trade, whether we regard our shipping, or our merchandize; a trade, which even with the grateful attentions of *the Porte*, can never be considerable, while it must be carried on, in war, athwart a long line of hostile coast, throughout the Mediterranean sea.

By wresting Egypt from the eager gripe of the enemy; by restoring that commodious country to its grateful sovereign; by stipulating for the entire preservation of the territorial rights of the *Sublime Porte*, by establishing the *Republic of the Seven islands*; we displayed to Europe the superiority of our arms, and the magnanimity of our conduct. We may, in those considerations, see how many ambitious projects

projects were disappointed : and, it is in those considerations, that we must look for some of our equivalents. The fidelity of *the Porte*, the disadvantage of our opponent, and our own interest, dictated those points of judicious management, which prudence must approve, and wisdom confirm.

The weakness of Naples, of Rome, and of Lisbon, demanded an attention, which induced our policy to stipulate, for the evacuation of their territories, and for the entirety of the possessions of Portugal. All Europe felt the weight of our interposition. We obtained much for doubtful friends, from the concession of an uncomplying foe. We must find our equivalent, in the consideration, that something has been taken from the scale of an opponent, and thrown into the balance of friends; that our fidelity is admired, while our power is respected.

Such are the outlines of our Preliminary Peace, which was conceived by wisdom, dictated by policy, and concluded by address. These principles will continue to produce their salutary effects, after the tumult of applause, and the snarl of contestation have ceased.

On this contentious subject, I have seen in the *PORCUPINE Newspaper*, some *Letters*, which were addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, by an ingenious sophister, who scribbles, triumphantly, by *supposing* what he ought to prove, and by *proving* what cannot be denied. He *logically supposes*, that the Secretary of State had been invested with *the power of*

DICTION :



DICTATION; while he was only authoris'd to *negotiate*. Any man; the late Writer in the Porcupine, could make a very pregnant treaty, if there were placed in his hand *the pen of prescription*. By Dr. Wilson, who taught *The Arte of Logike*, it is aptly remarked:—

“ Well may wee say, that Sophisters are  
 “ like those, which plaie with false dice, and  
 “ would make others beleieve, that they are true.”

France has acquired Flanders. She influences Holland. She has run out her limits to the Rhine. She dictates to Switzerland. She has annexed Savoy. She domineers over Italy. Now, it did not require the proofs of our sophister, to evince what cannot be denied.

His positions are all TRUISMS, which, like other *truifms*, do not apply to the question. Could *war's alarms* have altered the actual state of those several positions? No. Could any mode of negotiation wheedle those positions from the greedy gripe of a persevering foe? No. Those positions, then, were not to be obtained, either by force, or artifice. And to deplore what cannot, by any possibility, be obtained, what is it, but childish tattle, womanish outcry, or sophistical declamation.

Yet, Lord Hawkesbury was *outwitted*, says the TYRTÆUS of the newspapers. Now, *the term* is not to be found in any book of arithmetic. Any boy can work the *rule of three*, without being *outwitted*. But, neither our *Sophister*, nor our *Tyrtæus*, seems to understand *moral* arithmetic: and, they  
 would



would, therefore, be unfit negotiators of any treaty; and are unqualified judges of our Preliminary Peace, now that it is made, by adequate calculators.

I have read, also, an *oration*, which seems to have been conceived with similar sophistry; and delivered with an analogous spirit.

The following *assumptions* are the *Orator's* positions:—"That France has now the *power* of  
 " *destroying us*, though perhaps *not* the *inclination*;  
 " that we are under the paw of the lion, but that  
 " he may happen not to be hungry;—that *we* *capitulate*, while we have yet some ammunition left;  
 " —that we are to all intents and purposes, *con-*  
 " *quered*;—that our opponent may say to us, we  
 " can hold out, and you cannot; make peace, or  
 " we will ruin you;—*we* *are*, of course, a *con-*  
 " *quered* *people*;—Bonaparte is as much our master,  
 " as he is of Spain, or Prussia, or any other of  
 " the countries, which are completely in his power;  
 " and finally, that we *live* henceforward by *suffer-*  
 " *ance*, from France." Now, what are those several positions, in logic, but what Dr. Wilson, who was one of the Secretaries of State, during the homely days of Walsingham, and Burleigh, happily calls the *cuckooes song*; or a *repetitio principii*, which attempts to prove *one* *certainty*, by repeating a *dozen* *uncertainties*: and, in fact, what are those positions, but so many affirmations, which the orator himself does not expect any one to admit to be true. "I wish of God, adds the Doctor, that all  
 " our

“ our reasoning might be fastened upon such mat-  
 “ ters, as are necessary, both for the hearer to  
 “ learne, and good for the reasoner to teach.  
 “ In which matters, to move any earnest ques-  
 “ tion, or to doubt overmuch in things no-  
 “ thing doubtful, were rather starke madnesse, or  
 “ els plaine foolishnesse.” The Doctor, who was a  
 learned person of great experience, did not fore-  
 see, when he was teaching *The Arte of Rhetorique*,  
 that any future orator would open his declamation,  
 by avowing,—“ that *he was plunged in deep de-*  
 “ *spair.*”

But, *despair* is not a very *classical* principle of ac-  
 tion. The liberal youth of our island learn far  
 other lessons from the Greek, and Roman, books,  
 wherein they are schooled. The purchase of the  
 ground, whereon the Carthaginians were encamped,  
 at Rome, has been celebrated, by history, as an in-  
 structive example of magnanimity. We have, in  
 our own annals, instances of similar *fortitude*; which  
 according to LOCKE, “ is the support of the other  
 “ virtues.” When the Bishops, and Barons, of  
 Scotland, after a long and unequal contest, wrote the  
 Pope, “ that while one of them remained, they  
 “ would not submit to Edward of England,” they  
 displayed

“ ———The better *fortitude*

“ Of patience, and heroick martyrdom.”

Whether *peace* be *preferable* to *war*, is one of  
 those *truifms*, which Mr. Secretary Wilson declares,

it were *starke madnesse* to question. To persevere in war, upon mere speculation, is an action of *blood-thirstyness*, which Mr. Secretary Burleigh denounces with perdition. But, our orator, fairly, puts the question, “whether the Peace now proposed, be better, or not, than a continuation of hostilities?”

Considering the *war*, as a mercantile project, I have already demonstrated, from the *mathematicks*, which cannot be outspoken by oratory, that our gains would be infinitely greater by the restoration of peace, than by the continuation of hostilities\*. This demonstration points to a truth, which obviously answers the oratorical question: it is the profits, arising from previous peace, and the accumulations, proceeding from prior tranquillity, which constitute the resources of subsequent war.

It has been the aim of the foregoing Estimate to recount the *wailings of despair*, at particular epochs of our history: at the peace of Ryswick; at the peace of Utrecht; at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; at the peace of Paris; and above all, when there was the greatest cause for lamentation, at the conclusion of the American war, in 1782. It required three years exertions to tie up the never-ending tail of that opened war. This *length of labour* may be said to have been finished, by the settlement of the sinking fund, in 1786. The question of our orator supposes, that we could have continued hostilities in 1782, with a greater probability of

\* See the Detail, in p. 361.

success,

success, than we could have renewed them, in 1786, or begun them in 1787, in 1788, in 1790, in 1791, or in 1792. Amidst *his despair*, he forgets how *prest* we were, as BACON would speak, to *unfurl our sails*, in the intermediate period, when *all hands* were called, by the affairs of Holland, in 1787, of Sweden, in 1788, of Nootka, in 1790, and of Oczakow, in 1791.

The previous weaknesses of 1782, did not, then, prevent the animated exertions of those subsequent years. A nation, any more than a man, cannot make, during the debility of disease, the energetic efforts of perfect health. But, who would argue with *despair*, or contend with "*foolishness?*"

How much we relinquished, at the conclusion of the American war, to France, to Holland, to Spain, and to The United States, may be seen in the national treaties. By the independence of the revolted colonies, three, or four millions of fellow subjects, were dissevered from the British empire. But, we must recur to moral arithmetick, for calculations of our real losses, from those relinquishments. I have long thought, what I now think, that those Colonies, from the peace of 1763 to the epoch of their revolt, formed balances to the power, rather than buttresses to the strength, of Great Britain. Experience has evinced, what TUCKER had taught, that we should derive, from the independence of those colonies, all the advan-

tages of their trade, without the vexations, and weaknesſes, of their government. At the peace with them, we threw off a burden, and retained a benefit. By thoſe relinquishments to Holland, to Spain, and to France, we were not prevented from performing ſo many financial operations, in 1784, in 1785, and in 1786: by thoſe relinquishments, we were not deterred from our foreign interpoſitions, in 1787, 1788, 1790, and 1791; and, hiſtory will record, that France fell back from the affairs of Holland in 1787; that Spain ſhrunk from the intrusion of Nootka in 1790; that Sweden felt our mediation, in 1783; and that Ruſſia recollected our management, in 1791. Thoſe intimations are ſufficient to demonſtrate to *reaſon*, though they cannot influence *deſpair*, that our reſources, and ſtrength, are, compleatly, *within ourſelves*.

Yet, alas! how ſeldom do ſtateſmen recollect that exhilarating truth, in their preſent reaſonings. If it be true, then, that our reſources, and ſtrength, lie in THE PEOPLE of the UNITED KINGDOM, what do we loſe, by the ſeveral relinquishments of the Preliminary Treaty? Do we loſe men? No. Do we loſe money? No. Would they have been expensive eſtabliſhments, during peace? Yes. Would they have been a ſtill greater ſource of weakneſs, in war? Yes. As it has been our ſettled policy to ſubdue, during hoſtilities, the diſtant dominions of our foes; as it has been our common practice, ariſing from moral eſtimate, to return, by negotiation,



gociation, what we had gained by valour; we have followed, in this preliminary treaty, the example of our fathers. If experience be the great instructor of statesmen; if the greater relinquishments of the peace of 1783, did not prevent us from repulsing injury, and avenging wrongs, with *prest* alertness, in those subsequent years, the smaller relinquishments of the peace of 1801, will not prevent us from repulsing similar injuries, with readier alacrity, and obtaining redress, with more efficacious means.

Yet, is it urged, as an argument, for continuing hostilities, that France can say to Britain:—"We can hold out; but you cannot."—It is not easy, indeed, to estimate the resources, which consist of bankruptcy, and plunder. But, who would compare contrarieties together? bankruptcy with credit, plunder with honesty, idleness with industry, dissipation with thrift: and the argument is, that bankruptcy and plunder, idleness and dissipation, *can hold out*; while credit and honesty, industry and thrift, can not. Had France demanded, as preliminary terms of peace, that the Isle of Wight should be ceded to her, Gibraltar to Spain, the Orkneys to Holland, it would have soon appeared to the world, whether we could hold out; whether we be a *conquered people*, without resources, and spirit. In making conquests, and in baffling the enemy, we had borrowed money, at *simple* interest, and paid our debts, at *compound* interest: now, on these data, science can demonstrate, that *we could hold out*. On such sci-

entific principles, we had as we have seen, an energetic sinking fund, paying off our old debts, and a second sinking fund, paying off our new debts, with greater energy. By means of the *income tax*, we had laid the foundation of a fund, for carrying on the war, without the aid of loans. But, the novelty of the measure, and the infelicity of seasons, had somewhat retarded fruition, and in some measure disappointed hope. Notwithstanding all that I have read, heard, or seen, I am of opinion, that the income tax, would have yielded the vast sum, for which it was given, if it had spread wider over the country, if it had been rigidly exacted, and honestly paid; and above all, had the consumers been protected, by the same act of taxation, from the extortions of the suppliers. Such a tax, however, ought neither to be given, nor asked, but for defending the land we live in, and maintaining our religion, and laws. But, as it is constituted, and paid, its vexations, in peace, must produce its repeal.

Peace was not made, then, because *we could not hold out*. But, it was made; because peace is preferable to war, and war is more odious than necessity; because a war of speculation is absurd in its principle, and wicked in its means; because the experience of every peace, and every war, since the revolution, evinced, that our *sickly land*, after a little repose, and some solace, renews hostilities, with augmented energies; because the point of honour had been satisfied by the declaration of war; because the

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the object of the war, as far as it consisted, in repelling insult, defending our land, and maintaining our constitution, had been completely obtained.

“ ————— PEACE,

“ Thou best of powers! who would not thee prefer

“ To guilty glory, and the crimes of War!”

Yet, is it supposed, that we have, by those means, departed from our national dignity; and a seditious writer is quoted to prove the value of political punctilio, and the delicacy of female virtue; as if such points ought to stand opposed to the safety of the country, and the solace of the people. Among the wonders of a wonderful period, an anti-jacobin orator quotes the jacobin JUNIUS, to prove what no man will dispute, nor woman deny. After the very full detection of that writer, it might have been expected that, in a jacobinical age, such an authority would not have been quoted, either in the *Senate*, or the *Forum*. The proofs, which I took the liberty to lay before the public, in order to satisfy every reasonable mind, that M<sup>c</sup>Auley Boyd wrote the letters of JUNIUS, have not been contradicted. Evidence, indeed, was to be brought from *India*, to prove, that Rosenhagen wrote that jacobin paper: but, such evidence will not soon arrive! Rosenhagen, indeed, himself, claimed the honours of the authorship: but, with judicious persons, this personal claim is strong proof, that he never did what he would not have avowed. Rosenhagen received £.500 from Sir Thomas Rumbold, for de-

fending him. I have compared his defences with Boyd's vindication of the pretensions of the Nabob of Arcot. Boyd has far more smartness and vigour, in his style, and infinitely more force and cogency, in his sentiment. As some persons, for whose opinion I have great respect, doubted the satisfactoriness of my proofs, I have made additional inquiries about Boyd, and his writings: and, I am now perfectly certain, from intimations, which I have received from Madras, that M'Auley Boyd was the seditious writer of JUNIUS'S Letters.

It is not, indeed, the taxes of war, which *debilitate*, and *wex* the *people*! No: It is the defect of the tax-bills, which do not prevent the extortions of the suppliers of the articles taxed: a *farthing* tax is laid on a bottle of wine, and immediately a sixpence a bottle is extorted by the supplier; a trifle is imposed on the running of post-horses; and instantly, the communications of the country are stopped by *extortions*: a trifle is imposed on the postage of letters, and this trifle only is added, because the *postmen dare not extort*; a trifle additional is laid upon paper, and the stationer's fortune is made, but literature is undone. Thus, the people, who are the resources of war, are delivered to the *Extortioners*, as the people of France, ere while, were put into the hands of *the Financiers*. From those intimations, then, we may trace the cause of the people's impatience for peace, and their readiness, after a little repose, to renew hostilities, with augmented energy. If, while I am shewing how that *impatience*



ence may be prevented, or mollified, the *doctrine of Free Trade* be quoted against me by *oratory*: then, have I done with the science of moral arithmetick.

When inculcating *the ende of rhetorique*, Dr. Wilson requires *three* things of the orator, which he insists, every orator is bound to perform;—to *teach*;—to *perswade*;—to *delight*.—Our orator *teaches*, that *despair* is *fortitude*; that *experience* is *foolishness*; that *victory* is *defeat*; and that *success* and *submission*, are the same, in sense, and in sound. He *perswades* his auditory, that *stern alarms* are more charming than *merry meetings*; that *ruin by peace* is more *certain*, and *speedy*, than *ruin by war*; and that,—

“ PEACE fills the kingdom full of holy days;  
 “ And only feeds the wants of whores and beggars;  
 “ And makes the idle drunken rogues get spinsters:  
 “ By Heaven, it is the surfeit of all youth,  
 “ That makes the toughness, and the strength of nations  
 “ Melt into women. ’Tis an *ease* that breeds  
 “ Thieves, and bastards only:”—

And, knowing what pleasure most persons take, in being ruined, our orator *delights*, by inculcating, that “ we are a *conquered people* ;” that “ *France has the power of destroying us* ; and he *delights*, infinitely, “ by placing his *beavers under the paw of the lion*.”—

BUT, PEACE IS MADE.

“ ——— Fair PEACE ! How delightful thou !  
 By whose wide tie, the kindred sons of men  
 Like brothers live, in amity combin’d,  
 And unsuspecting faith ; while honest toil  
 Gives every joy, and those joys a right,

Which



Which idle, barbarous, rapine but usurps.  
 Beneath thy calm, inspiring influence,  
 Science his views enlarges, Art refines,  
 And swelling Commerce opens all her ports.  
 Blest be the *Man* divine, who gives us Thee!  
 Who bids the trumpet hush his horrid clang,  
 Nor blow the giddy nations into rage;  
 Who sheaths the murderous blade; the deadly gun  
 Into the well-pil'd armory returns;  
 And every vigour from the work of death  
 To grateful Industry converting, makes  
 The Country flourish, and the City smile.  
 Unviolated, him the virgin sings;  
 And him the smiling mother to her train.  
 Of him the shepherd, in the peaceful dale,  
 Chaunts; and, the treasures of his labour sure,  
 The husbandman, as at the plough,  
 Or team, he toils. With him, the sailor sooths,  
 Beneath the trembling moon, the midnight wave;  
 And the full city, warm, from street to street,  
 And shop to shop, responsive, rings of him:  
 Nor joys one land alone; his praise extends  
 Far as the sun rolls the diffusive day;  
 Far as the breeze can bear the gifts of Peace,  
 'Till all the happy nations catch the song."

It is now the business of grave men to estimate the value of the Peace, and to give it effect. The American war dissevered from us, forever, three or four millions of people. The late war has been the means, under wise management, of uniting to us, forever, four millions of neighbouring subjects.

Ireland, till now, formed, like the revolted colonies, a balance to our power, rather than a support to our strength. United Ireland is of more real worth to Britain, than the conquered countries to France. How far our opponent will be strengthened by her *extension*, contrary to the order of nature, may well admit of a doubt: how far so many people of such different lineages, and languages, will easily coalesce, may admit of a greater doubt. Time, and chance, can only determine, whether Republican France will continue a mighty power, or sink into an unwieldy mass. One truth is certain, that the European continent will, finally, balance itself; while our Islands need not much care, for the balance of dissonant powers. Nor, has a twelvemonth passed away, since we stood, alone, successfully, against the whole maritime attacks of the neighbouring continent. Hereafter, we have only, with our Henry IV.—

“ ——— In equal balance, justly, to weigh

What wrongs our arms may do; what wrongs we suffer.”

From experience, we know, that our people increase in numbers; from fact, that they increase, also, in knowledge, in industry, and in wealth; from detail, that they have now more shipping, and traffic; from record, that they have, with an enterprising spirit, improved the surface of their islands, during the late war, beyond all example. All these comfortable truths, it has been the endeavour

of

of *This Estimate*, to demonstrate, by tracing their progress, and inculcating their principles.

The American war left our finances in a state of uncommon disorder. It required, as we have seen, three years efforts of genius, of wisdom, and of perseverance, to restore our financial health to a vigorous state. The American war left us, without a sinking fund: the late war has left us one sinking fund for the old debts of the state; a second, for the loans of the war, and a third, for redeeming collateral debts.

The effect, of all those means, upon our public securities, as facts have evinced, has been, in proportion, to the powerful means, which were provided for augmenting their value. At present, one year of peace is altogether adequate, to the national end of restoring our financial affairs to their usual efficacy.

Before the late war began, it was doubted, by ingenious investigation, whether our shipping, and trade, would stand the several shocks of bankruptcy, and hostilities. Notwithstanding both those causes of deterioration, our commerce, and navigation, increased, during the war, beyond the example of former times. It will be equally doubted by political scepticism, whether our shipping, and trade, will continue, in peace, at their recent elevation. Experience inculcates, however, that what has invariably happened, at the end of five long wars, since the Revolution, will again happen, at present.

present. Our commerce, and shipping, have always rebounded with uncommon energy, upon the return of every peace, after the conclusion of extended war. A detail has already evinced, that this exhilarating effect must necessarily follow the recent Pacification. We have now more enterprize, and knowledge, more correspondence, and capital, than energized the debility of former times. And, it is a point agreed, in commercial œconomy, that a rich, and industrious nation will always overpower, and disconcert, every people, who are indolent, from their infelicity, poor, from their indolence, and weak, from their subordination. We are in possession of all the necessary ingredients of a vast commerce. And it is a maxim, which is founded upon observation, that trade will always find a port; but a port cannot always find trade. Why, then, should *doubt* embitter the enjoyments of the present!—

- “ Britain, the queen of isles, our fair possession,
  - “ Secur'd by nature, laughs at foreign force :
  - “ Her Ships her bulwark, and the Sea her dyke ;
  - “ Sees Commerce in her lap, and braves the World !”
-





NOTICES

OF THE

L I F E

OF

GREGORY KING.

To which are subjoined,

I. *His Political Conclusions;*

II. *His Scheme of the Inhabitants of the City of Gloucester;*

III. *His Computation of the endowed Hospitals,  
and Alms Houses, in England.*



## N O T I C E S

OF

## T H E L I F E

OF

## G R E G O R Y K I N G.

THIS ingenious, and modest man, was born on the 15th of December 1648, in the parish of Stow, at Litchfield; which was also the birth-place of Ashmole, and of the father of Camden. This curious computer was the son of Gregory King, and Elizabeth, his first wife, who was the daughter of Mr. J. Andrews of Sandwich, in Kent. This family of Kings were originally of Leicester, where they had lived for generations, and long remained\*.

The father of our *political arithmetician* was himself a studier of the mathematics; and practised surveying of land, and dyalling, as a profession; but with more attention to *good fellowship*, than mathematical studies generally allow: and, the care of the family devolved of course on the mother, who, if she had been less obscure, had emulated the most eminent of the Roman matrons. The fa-

\* Nichols's Leicest. vol. iii. pref. v.

ther, however, with all his laxity of *company-keeping*, was extremely attentive to the education of his children\*.

With this parental ardour for literature, the father “packt away to school, at two years of age,” his little Gregory to some *matron old*, who is “lost in the dreary shades of dull obscurity.” Instructed by her, who “knew unruly brats with birch to tame,” he read the psalter, when three years old, and the bible at four, when he could scarcely speak. While thus employed, he was seized with a paralytic complaint, which so affected his person, though not his intellect, that his father, fearing a perpetual deformity, often prayed, that God would take his son to himself. He recovered, however, and while he was not six years old, he was sent to the Free School, to learn his accidence. Mr. Thomas Bevans had the satisfaction of teaching this little genius Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. In his eleventh year, he learned rhetoric, while he himself taught children “to write, and cast accounts.” In his thirteenth year, he read Hesiod, and Homer; and while he was en-

\* Gregory King, the Herald, seems to have foreseen, with heraldic prescience, the danger of oblivion. And, he left behind him “Miscellaneous notes of his birth, education, and advancement,” which have been published by Mr. W. Dalway, in his *Inquiries into the science of Heraldry*, from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. These Notes, which I have abridged, unfortunately end in 1694. I have tried to glean some additional notices, which continue the subsequent incidents of the useful life of Gregory King.

gaged in making Greek verses, he taught himself "to survey land," while his father was more agreeably occupied with *his good fellowship*: yet, ought it not to be forgotten, that the father taught his son, as much at home, as the boy learned at school. At this period of his life, he gained money, and applause, by acting, in the Free School, the fool's part of *Ropeny*, in the pastoral comedy of *Amyntas*. He distinguished himself so much, *in playing the fool*, that this circumstance introduced him into life, while his more solid accomplishments of learning, as they were less seen, were passed over in neglect, and seem never to have contributed any thing to his fortune, or his fame.

In December 1662, at the age of fourteen, our actor, who had attracted the notice of Dr. Hunter of Litchfield, was recommended, by him, as a clerk to DUGDALE, whose labours have insured his immortality. In his service, and school, Gregory King was initiated in the knowledge of Heraldry, and Drawing;—and he taught himself French. He now attended this great antiquary, and herald, upon his respective *visitations*, during several years. It was, on those journeys, that he acquired the local knowledge, and the accuracy of mind, which enabled him, in after-times, to become one of the greatest masters of *political arithmetic*, during the intelligent age of Davenant, and Petty.

But, Dugdale's *visitations* being ended in 1667, this circumstance brought to a conclusion the services, and instructions of King. Dugdale, however,



recommended him to Lord Hatton, who, as an antiquary, wished for the assistance of an Archæological Secretary. In this situation, King continued to the year 1669, when Lord Hatton's passion, or pursuits, failing, he civilly dismissed his helper. King now returned to his native place, where he found his father married to a second wife. Here he continued a twelvemonth; teaching the youth to write, and cast accounts; and employing himself in painting, and in instructing inquisitive persons to read ancient writings. While he was thus occupied, he was still under age. King was now invited by Mr. Chetwynd, of Injesty, a gentleman of curious learning, to peruse his charters, to draw his seals, and to form his genealogy\*. King was at length known, as a person of various knowledge, and useful accomplishments: and he was invited by the dowager lady Gerard, to be her steward, auditor, and secretary. With her ladyship, he remained at Sandon, in Staffordshire, acting in those several characters, and helping her ladyship, in drawing, and painting, till August 1672.

He at this epoch removed from Sandon to London, the proper scene, for genius to exert its powers, and talents to employ their faculties. He was, naturally, welcomed by his old master, Dugdale, who introduced him to the heralds, and to HOLLAR, the en-

\* In the 6th vol. of Leland's Itin. p. 96, there is a letter to Hern, dated the 16th May, 1711, which mentions this connection; but mistakes the name; calling King, *Charles*, instead of Gregory.

graver. But, King was still to be employed, in some profitable service, which might be analogous to his studies, and contributive to his livelihood. Such a person was wanted, by OGILBY, who was then occupied, under *a patent*, as Royal Cosmographer, in book-making and printing, in map-making and engraving, in road measuring and etching. To him, was King now recommended by HOLLAR; and, during some time, was our ingenious calculator employed, with Ogilby, in writing notes, in engraving seals, and in reducing *sculps*. A new Britannia was at length projected, by that noted projector: and, roads were now to be measured, towns to be *ichnographied*, and shires to be survey-ed. King attended Falgate, in making a survey of his native county of Essex, in 1672; collecting notes out of churches, and copying records, for the historical department. King was the first, who made a survey of London upon a scale of a hundred feet to an inch, which expressed the ground-plot of every house and garden: this curious map of the metropolis was engraved by Hollar.

But, such undertakings required more capital, than Ogilby could command, and, in this distress, he projected a *lottery of books*, which King ingeniously contrived, and honestly managed, for him: he also framed a lesser *lottery of books*, for Bristol fair, at St. James's tide, 1673, which turned to *the good advantage* of Ogilby, under the management of King.

For all these helps, the Royal Cosmographer was

grateful, although he was poor, and old. And Ogilby proposed to King to make, on his own account, a survey of Westminster, upon the same scale, as that of London. This great work, he undertook, in 1674, and performed, with the help of Falgate, in less than a twelvemonth. He was thus induced to fix his lodging in St. James's-street, Covent-garden, at the house of Mrs. Ann Powel, a *maiden gentlewoman*, the daughter of Mr. J. Powel, of Tirlley, Gloucestershire, who was of the Powels of Denbigh: and her he married, on the 20th of July, 1674, in the 26th year of his age.

Westminster was at length surveyed; and King now occupied himself with engraving maps of various countries, and geographical cards, which were composed by Sir Peter Wych, and first published by Brocme, the bookseller; and which were the prototypes of all the subsequent cards of that nature. King still continued, on different occasions, his original business of surveying land, and copying chartularies. He now surveyed *Soho-fields*, projected *Soho-square*, and the adjacent streets, and drew up the articles, for erecting the buildings. In 1681, he copied, for the President of the Council, perhaps, the Privy Council Registers, during the interesting reign of Edward VI.\* He assisted Sandford, in drawing up his well-known genealogical history; compiling a part of the text, and preparing the whole for the press.

\* I have in my library this copy, in three folio volumes, finely written by King, with his name inscribed, as copyist, and splendidly bound, and ornamented, with an earl's coronet.

These occupations enabled King to renew his acquaintance with Lee, the Chester herald, who introduced him to Mr. Andrew Hay, the secretary to the Earl of Norwich, who then acted as Deputy Earl Marshal. In the dispute, which, at that time existed, between the jurisdiction of Walker, the garter king, and the authority of the Earl Marshal, King made himself useful to the higher power, and this usefulness made him *Rouge Dragon*, in 1677, upon the deaths of Walker, and Lee; being created on the 24th of June, in that year, at the College of Arms, by the Earl of Peterborough, the Deputy Earl Marshal. The death of Walker brought to the head of the College of Arms, DUGDALE, who renewed his kindness to his old clerk, while he was yet inconsiderable, from the late loss of his friend Lee, and poor, from the smallness of his official emoluments. At Lady Day, 1680, King removed into the college, where he was nearer his proper affairs, and was better able to attend to the interests of himself, and his friends.

In 1681, 1682, and 1683, King was, chiefly, occupied, in making heraldic surveys of several shires, whereby he gained some money, but lost the kindness of Sir Henry St. George, the *Clarenceux*. This misfortune, however, as it was not owing to his fault, did not prevent his advancement. The death of the Duke of Norfolk brought him from the Earl of Arundel into the high office of Earl Marshal. King's usefulness, and modesty, which had been noticed, by this eminent person, were



now rewarded by him : and, King was on this occasion appointed registrar of the College of Arms, notwithstanding the objections of Sir Henry St. George ; an office, that he had for some time executed, for the emoluments of Devenish, his predecessor. The enmity of Clarenceux did not prevent him, from asking King's company, and assistance, when he made his *visitation* of Cambridge, and Huntingdon, in 1684.

But, the time was at length come, when our *Rouge Dragon* was to be engaged in greater events. The demise of Charles II. penetrated the heart of King, who had been struck with the good humour, and accustomed grace of a prince, who had acquired those captivating arts in the school of instructive adversity. He bore a considerable part, in the funeral solemnity of that lamented sovereign ; as he prepared the *escocheons*, by direction of Dugdale. And, he attended the proclaiming of James II., with *sad dismay*, and *after thoughts disturbed*, submitting to *what seemed remediless*. Our *Rouge Dragon* now prepared, by Dugdale's order, no doubt, " the ceremonies, and schemes," for the subsequent coronation. And, king James, declaring, that he would have the account of his coronation printed, Sandford, and Gregory King, were allowed by the Earl Marshal to execute the king's wish. The management, and execution, of this undertaking fell chiefly upon our *Rouge Dragon* ; yet, he allowed Sandford's name to stand in the title-page ; and reserved only one-third of the profits to himself, without



out any of the honours. His prudence foresaw, that detraction would fasten on a work, which could not be made perfect. The two undertakers, merely, saved the expence of the book, amounting to £.600: for, the *sculps*, being many, and tedious, the necessary time carried the hour of publication forward to the eve of another coronation. In 1687, our *Rouge Dragon* attended the *visitation* of London by desire of the *Clarenceux*, as he had before attended him on the *visitations* of Cambridge, and Huntingdon. King had long struggled with fortune. His bounty to his relations had absorbed all his savings, before his marriage. Ogilby had died indebted to him £.200, in 1676. His marriage, however, laid a good foundation of future competence, though fruition was somewhat retarded by his liberal manner of living. In 1687, he began, however, to lend money on houses. In 1688, he purchased land, in the parish of Holy Cross, Essex, of the value of £.21. 1s. a year. He soon after laid out £.1,260, in purchasing a three-and-thirty years lease of sixty houses, in St. Catharines, the rental whereof amounted to £.220 a year: yet, to accomplish this great adventure, he was obliged to borrow more than half the purchase money. And the taxes of king William's time running very high, and the rents falling, these two unlooked-for circumstances reduced a good bargain to little value. In 1688, his old associate Sandford, who smarted from the suspension of the Earl Mar-

shall, resigned to him his place of Lancaster Herald, which cost him a hundred and sixty pounds.

But, uncommon prospects again opened on his intelligent eyes. When he heard of the imprisonment of the seven bishops, he cried out: "Then, farewell to popery in England;" foreseeing, that such violence must destroy itself. And, upon reading the Prince of Orange's *declaration*, he equally foretold, "that the prince came not without an expectation of the crown." Our herald pitied the misfortunes of king James, the more; as he was attached, with so many greater persons, in that age, to the hereditary descent of the crown. These sentiments, however, did not prevent him, from obeying the Earl Marshal's order, founded on the authority of the House of Lords, for proclaiming king William, and queen Mary. He afterwards proclaimed the order for the Court of Claims; assisted at several sittings of a committee of bishops, for drawing up the coronation service; and prepared four books for that ceremony; one for the king, one for the queen, one for the princess Anne, and one for the bishop of London; as he had recently done before the coronation of king James: and, he gave extraordinary assistance, in forming the ceremonial of that extraordinary solemnity; and, upon the coronation day, he undertook the fatiguing task of calling into order the peers, and peeresses, in the House of Lords, their majesties being present. Such were the parts, which our herald was destined

to act in that uncommon scene, wherein great knowledge of ceremony, and greater fortitude of mind, were requisite to just performance.

Our herald was at length to distinguish himself as the interpreter of the wishes, and civilities of kings, and princes, to each other. The Elector of Brandenburg was chosen knight of the garter, in January, 1689. And, Sir Thomas St. George, the garter-king, declining, from his great age, the splendid task of carrying the order, our herald was prevailed on to accept that office, having Latin, and French, and other qualities sufficient. His coadjutor, in this commission, was the nephew of Burnet, the bishop of Salisbury, Johnston, who was afterwards secretary of state in Scotland. The commission, the credential letter, the instructions were all drawn, and engrossed by our herald, and approved of by the chancellor of the order. The commissioners set out, in February; arrived at Berlin, in May; and after a distinguished reception, they invested the elector with the order of the garter, accompanied by the accustomed splendour of such ceremonies; and they were rewarded with adequate munificence. Returning by Hamburgh, our herald was entertained, nobly, by Sir Paul Rycaut, and by the English merchants, who, in doing honour to the king's heraldic representative, on a splendid embassy, tried to do honour also to the nation. And, returning to London, in August, our herald concluded his negotiation, by making the compliments of the electoral family to the queen,  
and

and delivering to her majesty an amber cabinet from the electress.

The Duke of Zell was elected a knight of the garter, in the beginning of 1691: and the king, declaring that he would invest the Duke with his own hands, at the Hague, Sir Thomas St. George thought himself obliged to carry the ensigns; and was induced to invite our herald to accompany him, on an errand so profitable, and splendid. They arrived at the Hague, the day after king William had departed to endeavour to raise the siege of Mons. The magnificent ceremony of investing the Duke took place, on the 8th of May, in the presence of several English nobles of the highest rank. Rewarded, and gratified, the heralds returned to London, in June, when they concluded an extraordinary scene of illustrious action.

From this elevation, our herald descended into his youthful walks of land surveying. In July and August 1691, he performed what he had long promised to Jesus College, Cambridge, by surveying their lands in Oxford, Gloucester, and Glamorgan-shire. The wet, which he received, in performing this trust, brought on a sciatic, which greatly distressed him. This did not, however, hinder him from drawing up the claim of lady Essex Griffin to the barony of Audley of Waldon, as he had successfully supported the claim of Lord Thanet to the barony of Clifford, in the year before. He soon after conducted the installation of the Earl of Dorset at Windsor. And owing to whatever cause,  
his



his sciatic returned with such violence, as to deprive him, for a time, of the use of his limbs, and of his speech, and memory. This was the more distressful, as the king sent orders, for carrying the garter to the Elector of Saxony. Sir Thomas St. George was then occupied with love, and marriage, at the ripe age of seventy-eight: and, he entreated our herald, while he was yet in a state of convalescence, to undertake that splendid, but fatiguing embassy. Their majesties' resident at the courts of Lunenburgh, Sir William Colt, was joined in the commission with our herald, who drew up the commission, the credential letter, and instructions. Yet, the dispatch of these authorities was attended, with great delay, and the payment of the requisite money, with still greater. These envoys, at length, arrived at Dresden, where they had been long expected, on the 9th of January, 1693. It was now resolved to outdo the Elector of Brandenburg, in magnificent expence, and munificent rewards. The grand ceremony was performed, on the 26th of January, with extraordinary splendour. Such carousals, as were on this occasion, displayed, had seldom been seen. The two commissioners, as the custom was, dined with the Elector. And our herald, departing from Dresden, the scene of so many festivities, arrived at the Hague, where he delivered the Elector's compliments to the king, who allowed him to return to England, pleased with his journey, and enriched with presents.

Our herald was again occupied with his usual affairs,



fairs, till the 5th of June, 1694, when he conducted the instalment of several princes, and peers, at Windsor, with the gorgeous ceremonies of that unusual scene.

In the mean time, Sir John Dugdale proposed to resign his office of *norroy* to Mr. King: but, the Earl Marshal, owing to whatever cause, refused his consent to every importunity. The demise of Mary, on the 28th of December, 1694, giving rise to a contest between the master of the wardrobe and the Earl Marshal, our herald was involved in the contest of those mighty potentates. And, as the disgust of the Earl Marshal was, at length, raised to resentment, he soon after transferred the pen of registrar from Mr. King to Doctor PLOTT, who had been recently nominated Moubray herald extraordinary.

Our herald was, at length, destined, to act, in a very different sphere. The tendency of his genius led him to *political arithmetic*, in an age, when this science of statesmen was brought into repute by men of extraordinary powers. And, Gregory King produced his *Political Conclusions*, in 1695, though his modesty did not publish those curious efforts of art, and sagacity. He allowed Doctor Davenant, a well known writer of those times, to peruse, and to garble his *political conclusions*. This writer, when treating “of the use of political arithmetic,” praises Gregory King, for his *general knowledge* of this science, and speaks of his “scheme of the inha-  
“ bitants

“bitants of England, as more distinct, than was  
 “ever made, concerning the people of any other  
 “country\*. He avows his obligations to that  
 “wonderful genius,” for many lights, and informa-  
 tions. He, indeed, made great use of those obser-  
 vations, by publishing mutilated extracts from a  
 consistent whole. The observations, and conclu-  
 sions, of Gregory King, are now published, at  
 length, for the first time. His original genius, his  
 local knowledge, his scientific practice, qualified  
 him, in a high degree, to carry this practical science  
 of public business far beyond Sir William Petty,  
 the original inventor of the art.

From the publications of Davenant, it had been  
 apparent, if there were not other evidence, that  
 Gregory King was of a very communicative dispo-  
 sition. By means of STEPNEY, who is still remem-  
 bered, as a negociator, and a poet, he laid before  
 the *Board of Trade*, in September, 1696, “a  
 “scheme of the inhabitants of the city of Glou-  
 “cester.” This *scheme* is now subjoined to the  
 political conclusions of Gregory King, as a proper  
 supplement. To this paper, I have added, for the  
 useful purpose of contrast, the numbers of houses, of  
 the males and females, and of the souls, in the same  
 city, at present.

We may easily suppose, that King became ac-  
 quainted with Stepney, while they were both so

\* Dav. Discourses on the Pub. Rev. and Trade, 1698,  
 P. 17.

frequently

frequently employed, as *envoys* to foreign courts; the one for matters of ceremony, the other, for points of business. While the Board of Trade were occupied with the difficult, and important, concerns of *the Poor*, Stepney communicated to them, King's *computation* of the endowed hospitals, and alms-houses, in England. This was received, on the 27th of September, 1697, by the Board, who "ordered it to be copied for use, as occasion may serve\*." This paper, I have now subjoined, as a second supplement to King's political conclusions: while *the poor* continue to be objects of our care, this *computation* of such an arithmetician will always have its value. Thus useful was Gregory King, in his life; and thus usefully are his labours brought into political consideration, at present.

The gratitude of Davenant spoke of Gregory King, as *a jewel*, which was fit, for any *statesman's cabinet*. This friendly intimation seems not to have been quite disregarded. The expenditure of the wars of William, and of Anne, required, that the public accounts should be stated. An annual act seems to have passed, during the first reign, for that important end, from 1692†. This salutary measure was continued, at the commencement of the

\* The Board's Journal, B. 279.

† 4-5. W. and M. ch. 11.; 5-6. W. and M. ch. 23.; 6-7. W. and M. ch. 23.; 6-7. W. ch. 7; 7-8. W. ch. 8. for stating the public accounts of the kingdom.

second of those hostile reigns\*. Gregory King acted, as secretary to the comptrollers of army accounts; he continued, as the secretary of the commissioners for stating the public accounts, to the hour of his death †. From the tendency of his genius, from the course of his life, from the nature of his employments; we may perceive how qualified he was to estimate the state of the nation.

In the midst of all those employments, Gregory King had often reason to think that, “the world is full of rubs.” The weight of Sir John Vanburgh rubbed against his feelings, in 1709. It was then in contemplation to bring Sir John into the patent of Clarenceux, though he was a stranger, in the college of heralds. On the 10th of January, 1710, King wrote to Mr. Harley, to whom he was known; remonstrating against a measure, which was ruinous to the college, and injurious to himself: he stated to the minister, his “being bred up from a youth under Sir William Dugdale;” his employment, for twenty years under the garter king, whose sworn deputy he long had been: he urged “the disservice to the public, to have the heads of a society ignorant in its fa-

\* 1 An. ch. 10.

† His Epitaph, on the 17th of March, 1711-12, Gregory King, from the commissioners for stating the public accounts, laid before the House of Lords, the receipts and issues of the exchequer, from Michaelmas 1710, to do. 1711. Lord's Journ. of that date.



“culty, and a coadjutor himself to want a coadjutor\*.” Vanburgh’s wit, I fear, prevailed over King’s arithmetick.

Gregory King did not long survive that mortification, which sacrificed propriety to influence, and substituted ignorance for knowledge. He died, on the 29th of August, 1712, when he had passed his grand climacteric; and was buried in the chancel of St. Bennet’s, Paul’s Wharf, on the 3d of September, by the side of the wife of his youth †. He was twice married; first, to Anne Powel, as we have seen: and secondly in February, 1701, to Frances Graham, the sister of William Graham. He had one son, Thomas, and two daughters, Elizabeth, and Frances, who all died, before their father, under age. He made his will, on the 30th of November, 1709; to which he added two codicils; whereby he constituted his wife his sole executrix, who raised, as she was directed by his will, a monument to his memory, which will be longer preserved by his *political conclusions*. He left her in easy circumstances; and he bequeathed many legacies to his relations, to whom he was always kind ‡; and to his friends, to whom he was ever obliging.

Gregory

\* The original letter is in the British Museum. Harl. No. 7,525.

† Parish Register. His monumental inscription, is in Le Neve, p. 243; and in Dallaway, wherein the name of his second wife is blundered.

‡ He mentioned his brother, John King, “long since [1709] deceased,” and his brother Thomas King, “of the Excise Of-



Gregory King was obviously an accomplished person: he wrote a beautiful hand\*; and he practised drawing, skilfully. From nature, he had very vigorous faculties; quickness of apprehension, and strength of sagacity: from education, and habit, he possessed steady application to whatever employment; and dextrous facility, in whatever affairs: and he was a person of such powers, as to distinguish him, in an age, when eminent men, in his several accomplishments, abounded. He who surpassed PETTY, as a political calculator, must be allowed to have been a master of moral arithmetick. As a *Herald*, KING is ranked next, in knowledge, to GLOVER, who is deemed *the first*; and was the instructor of CAMDEN. His whole life furnishes an example how a man of talents, and address, may surmount every difficulty, and raise himself from poverty, and insignificance, to competence, and distinction.

fice, London:" but, the particularity of his will does not mention any brother, or any children of any brother, of the name of *Charles King*.

\* His autograph is in Dallaway's *Heraldry*, pl. xv. facing p. 221: but, I know not, if there be any picture of him.



I.

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NATURAL AND POLITICAL  
OBSERVATIONS  
AND  
CONCLUSIONS  
UPON THE  
*STATE AND CONDITION*  
OF  
ENGLAND,  
1696;  
BY  
GREGORY KING, ESQ. LANCASTER H.



## THE PREFACE.

IF, to be well apprized of the true state, and condition of a nation, especially in the two main articles, of its people, and wealth, be a piece of political knowledge, of all others, and at all times, the most useful and necessary; then, surely, at a time when a long and very expensive war against a potent Monarch, (who, alone, has stood the shock of an alliance and confederacy of the greatest part of Christendom), seems to be at its crisis; such a knowledge of our own nation must be of the highest concern: but, since the attaining thereof (how necessary and desirable soever) is next to impossible, we must content ourselves with such near approaches to it, as the grounds, we have to go upon, will enable us to make.

However, if having better foundations than heretofore, for calculations of this kind, we have been enabled to come very near the truth; then, doubtless, the following observations and conclusions will be acceptable to those, who have not entirely given up themselves to an implicit belief of popular falsehoods. But, the vanity of people, in overvaluing their own strength, is so natural to all nations, as well as ours, that, as it has influenced all former calculations of this kind, both at home and abroad, so if these, even these papers may be allowed not to have erred on that hand, I am of opinion they will not be found to have erred on the other.



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1696.

§ I. **W**HEREAS the ensuing Treatise depends, chiefly, upon the knowledge of the true NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN ENGLAND, and such other circumstances relating thereunto, as have been collected from the assessments on MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, and BURIALS, PARISH REGISTERS, and other PUBLIC ACCOUNTS: We shall, first, exhibit the calculation of the number of people, as they appear by the said assessments.

1st. Asto the NUMBER of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

In this calculation we shall consider,

1. The number of inhabited houses;
2. The number of people to each house;
3. The number of transitory people, and vagrants.

The number of houses in the kingdom, as charged, in the books of the hearth office, at Lady-day, 1690, were - - - - - 1,319,215.

The kingdom increasing at this time about 9,000 people per annum, as will appear in the ensuing discourse, the increase of houses should be about 2,000 per annum; but, by reason of the present war with France, not much above 1,000 per annum: so that by the year 1695, the increase cannot have been above 6 or 7000, which makes the present number of houses; that is to say, such as were so charged, in the books of the hearth-office, to be about - - - - - 1,326,000.

But,

But, whereas the chimney money being charged on the tenant or inhabitant, the divided houses stand as so many distinct dwellings, in the accounts of the said hearth-office; and whereas the empty houses, smiths shops, &c. are included in the said account; all which may very well amount to 1 in 36 or 37, (or near 3 per cent.) which, in the whole, may be about 36,000 houses; it follows, that the true number of inhabited houses in England is not above

1,290,000.	
Which, however, in a round number, we } 1,300,000	
shall call	

And shall thus apportion:

	Houses.
London and the Bills of Mortality,	105,000
The other cities and market towns,	195,000
The villages and hamlets,	1,000,000
In all	1,300,000

Having thus adjusted the number of inhabited houses, we come to proportion the number of souls to each house, according to what we have observed from the said assessments or marriages, births and burials, in several parts of the kingdom:—viz.

That London, within the walls, produced at a medium, almost	}	5½ souls per house.
The 16 parishes without the walls, full		4½ souls per house.
And the rest of the said bills, almost	- -	4½ souls per house.
That the other cities and market towns produced at a medium	}	4¾ souls per house.
And the villages and hamlets at a medium about		4 souls per house.
Accordingly the number of people computed from the said assessments, amounts to	}	5,318,100 souls.

As by the following scheme :

	Inhabited Houfes.		Souls per Houfe.		Number of Souls.
The 97 parishes within the walls,	13,500	at	5. 4	-	72,900
The 16 parishes without the walls,	32,500	at	4. 6	-	149,500
The 15 out parishes in Middle- sex and Surry	35,000	at	4. 4	-	154,000
The 7 parishes in the city and liberty of Westminster					
So London and the Bills of Mor- tality contain	105,000	at	4. 57	-	479,600
The other cities and market towns,	195,000	at	4. 3	-	838,500
The villages and hamlets -	1,000,000	at	4.	-	4,000,000
In all	1,300,000	at	4.	-	5,318,100

But, considering that the omissions, in the said assessments, may well be,

In London and the Bills of Mortality,	10 per cent.	or	47,960	souls,
In the cities and towns,	-	-	2 per cent.	or 16,500 souls,
In the villages and hamlets	-	-	1 per cent.	or 40,000 souls,
In all			104,460	souls,

it follows, that the true number of people, dwelling in the 1,300,000 inhabited houses, should be 5,422,560 souls,

According to the following Scheme :

	People by the Assessments.	Omissions in the Assessments.	Number of People in all.		
The 97 Parishes -	72,900	- 7,290	- 80,190	at almost	- 6 Heads per Houfe.
The 16 Parishes -	149,500	- 14,950	- 164,450	at above	- 5 Heads per Houfe.
The 15 Parishes -	154,000	- 15,400	- 169,400	at above	4. 8 Heads per Houfe.
The 7 Parishes -	103,200	- 10,320	- 113,520	at almost	- 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ Heads per Houfe.
The Bills of Mortality -	479,600	- 47,960	- 527,560	at above	- 5 Heads per Houfe.
The Cities and Towns -	838,500	- 16,500	- 835,000	at almost	4. 4 Heads per Houfe.
The Villages -	4,000,000	- 40,000	4,040,000	at -	- 4. 4 Heads per Houfe.
TOTAL -	5,318,100	104,460	5,422,560	at above	4. 17 Heads per Houfe.

Lastly.

Lastly.—Whereas the number of transitory people, as seamen, and foldiers, may be accounted 140,000, whereof near one-half, or 60,000, have no place in the said assessments; and that the number of vagrants, viz. hawkers, pedlars, crate carriers, gypsies, thieves, and beggars, may be reckoned 30,000, whereof above one-half, or 20,000, may not be taken notice of, in the said assessments, making in all 80,000;—

It follows, that the whole number of the people of England is much about - - - - - 5,500,000 :

<i>Viz.</i> London and the Bills of Mortality,	-	530,000 souls;
The other cities and market towns,	-	870,000 souls;
The villages and hamlets,	- - -	<u>4,100,000 souls;</u>
In all		<u>5,500,000 souls.</u>

§ II.—THE PROPORTION of ENGLAND, in ACRES, and PEOPLE, to FRANCE, and HOLLAND, to EUROPE, and to the WORLD in general; with a Calculation of the Number of People now in the World,

That ENGLAND is in proportion

	In Acres.	In Souls.
To the Globe of the Earth and Seas, as	- 1 to 3,300	- 1 to 130
To the known habitable world, as	- - - 1 to 600	- 1 to 110
To Europe (including Muscovy), as	- - 1 to 43	- 1 to 18
To France, as	- - - - - 1 to 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	- 11 to 30
To Holland, as	- - - - - 9 to 2	- 5 to 4
To France, and Holland, together, as	- - 1 to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	- 10 to 32

That England having but 7 Acres of Land to each Head;

It is between 5 and 6 times better peopled than the known world in general,

Above



Above twice, but not three times better peopled than Europe in general.

About  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times better peopled than Germany.

Above 3 times better peopled than Ireland now is.

Almost 3 times better peopled than Scotland, or Spain.

Somewhat better peopled than France, that kingdom having at least 9 acres per head, as Italy likewise hath.

About as well peopled as the Spanish Netherlands now are, or as the countries about the Rhine, viz. Alsatia, the Palatinate, Lorrain, &c.

And exceeded only, in populoufness, by Holland, and China, of all the nations in the world.

That England hath 5 times the number of people, now in Scotland, and 6 times the number of people, now in Ireland.

That Scotland, and Ireland, together are near equal to England in number of acres, but not  $\frac{2}{3}$ th of England in number of people.

That England, Scotland, and Ireland together, contain about 75 million of acres.

Somewhat more than 7 millions of people.

Somewhat above 10 acres to each head.

About the 23d part of Europe in acres, and the 13th, and 14th, part of Europe in people.

Somewhat more than half France in acres, and people.

Nine times the bigness of the 7 provinces of Holland in acres.

And more than 3 times, but not near 4 times the people of those provinces.

And, in proportion to France, and Holland together, as 10 to nineteen in acres, and as 10 to 22 in people.

As to the Number of People Now in the World.

We are to consider,

1st, The Number of Acres in the habitable world.

2d, The Proportion of People to the number of acres.

As to the number of acres;—

1. The superficial content of the globe of earth and water, at  $69\frac{1}{2}$  miles to a degree of latitude, is 200 millions of square miles, or 128,000 millions of acres, at 640 acres to a square mile.
2. The land, discovered and undiscovered, is now generally presumed to be one moiety of the globe, or 64,000 millions of acres.

3. The

3. The known part of the world contains about 23,000 millions of acres.  
And the unknown part - - - - - 41,000 millions of acres.
4. That of the known part of the world, - 20,000 millions of acres  
is habitable.  
And - - - - - 3,000 millions uninhabitable.
5. That of the unknown part - - - - - 25,000 millions of acres  
may be habitable.  
And - - - - - 16,000 millions of acres  
uninhabitable.

### As to the Proportion of People to the Number of Acres ;—

1. That where there is more than 100 acres to each head, such country is little better than desert.
2. That there is no country, besides Holland, and China, so populous as to have but 4 acres per head.
3. That England, having about 7 acres per head, France about 9, and Scotland and Ireland together about 18 or 20 acres per head, we cannot suppose Europe in general has above 15 or 20 acres per head.
4. That Asia, being generally very rich, and populous, especially India, Persia, and China (which last is said to have 10 millions of large families, containing 50 millions of men, besides women and children, whereby the number of souls in China should be at least 230 millions for 1,000 millions of acres), we cannot suppose but Asia must be near as well, if not better peopled pro rata than Europe.
5. That, allowing Europe and Asia to be about 3 times better peopled pro rata than Africa, and 6 times better peopled pro rata than America, it follows, that the number of people in the known part of the world should be about 600 millions of souls; and in the unknown part above 100 millions.—In all, 700 millions of souls.

	Acres.		Souls.
Europe - - -	1700 millions, at	17 acres per head	- 100 millions.
Asia - - -	6,800 millions, at	20 acres per head	- 340 millions.
Africa - - -	6,100 millions, at	64 acres per head	- 95 millions.
America - - -	8,400 millions, at	129 acres per head	- 65 millions.
In all - - -	23,000 millions, at	38 acres per head	- 600 millions.

§ III.—THE several Distinctions of the People, as to Males and Females, Married and Unmarried, Children, Servants, and Sojourners.

THAT the 5 millions and a half of souls, in England, including the transitory people, and vagrants, appear, by the assessments on marriages, births, and burials, to bear the following proportions, in relation to males, and females; viz.

	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Both.
In London and the Bills of Mortality	10 to 13	230,000	300,000	530,000	
In the other Cities and Market Towns	8 to 9	410,000	460,000	870,000	
In the Villages and Hamlets	- - 100 to 99	2,060,000	2,040,000	4,100,000	
	27 to 28	2,700,000	2,800,000	5,500,000	

That, as to other distinctions, they appear, by the said assessments, to bear these proportions:—

	People.	Males.	Females.
Husbands and Wives, - at above $34\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.	1,900,000	950,000	950,000
Widowers, - - - at above $1\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.	90,000	90,000	
Widows, - - - at almost $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.	240,000	- - -	240,000
Children, - - - at above 45 per Cent.	2,500,000	1,300,000	1,200,000
Servants, - - - at almost $10\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.	560,000	260,000	300,000
Sojourners and single Persons - 4 per Cent.	210,000	100,000	110,000
	100	5,500,000	2,700,000 2,800,000

And, that the different proportions, in each of the said articles, between London, the great towns, and the villages, may the better appear, we have exhibited the following scheme:—

	London and Bills of Mortality.	The other Cities and great Towns.	The Villages and Hamlets.
Husbands and Wives - - } 37 per Ct.	196,100	36 per Ct. 313,200	34 per Ct. 1,394,000
Widowers - - 2 per Ct.	10,600	2 per Ct. 17,400	$1\frac{1}{2}$ per Ct. 61,500
Widows - - 7 per Ct.	37,100	6 per Ct. 52,200	$4\frac{1}{2}$ per Ct. 184,500
Children - - 33 per Ct.	174,900	40 per Ct. 348,000	47 per Ct. 1,927,000
Servants - - 13 per Ct.	68,900	11 per Ct. 95,700	10 per Ct. 410,000
Sojourners, &c. 8 per Ct.	42,400	5 per Ct. 43,500	3 per Ct. 123,000
	100 - - 530,000	100 - - 870,000	100 - - 4,100,000

## § IV.—The several AGES of the PEOPLE.

That the Yearly Births of the Kingdom being 190,000 Souls;

	In all.	Males.	Females.
Those under 1 year old - - are	170,000	90,000	80,000
Those under 5 years old - are	820,000	415,000	405,000
Those under 10 years old - are	1,520,000	764,000	756,000
Those under 16 years old - are	2,240,000	1,122,000	1,118,000
Those above 16 years old - are	3,260,000	1,578,000	1,682,000
Those above 21 years old - are	2,700,000	1,300,000	1,400,000
Those above 25 years old - are	2,400,000	1,150,000	1,250,000
Those above 60 years old - are	600,000	270,000	330,000
So that the number of communicants is, in all - -	3,260,000 souls.		
And the number of fighting men, between 16 and 60, is	1,310,000.		

That the batchelors - - - are about 28 per cent. of the whole.

Whereof those under 25 years - - - are  $25\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

And those above 25 years - - - are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

That the maidens - - - are about  $28\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the whole.

Whereof those under 25 years - - - are  $26\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

And those above 25 years - - - are 2 per cent.

That the males and females, in the kingdom in general, are aged, one with another,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  years.

That in the kingdom in general, there is near as many people living under 20 years of age, as there is above 20. Whereof one half of the males is under 19 years, and one half of the females is under 21 years.

## At a Medium,

That the Husbands are aged	43 Years a piece, which, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. makes	742
The Wives - - -	40 Years a piece - - - $17\frac{1}{4}$ - - -	690
The Widowers - -	56 Years a piece - - - $1\frac{1}{2}$ - - -	84
The Widows - - -	60 Years a piece - - - $4\frac{1}{2}$ - - -	270
The Children - -	12 Years a piece - - - 45 - - -	540
The Servants - -	27 Years a piece - - - $10\frac{1}{2}$ - - -	284
The Sojourners - -	35 Years a piece - - - 4 - - -	140
At a Medium - $27\frac{1}{2}$ - - -	100 Persons - - -	2,750

## § V.—THE ORIGINATION, and INCREASE, of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND.

THAT, if the world was re-peopled, from 8 persons, after the Flood; and that England was peopled originally by two persons, or by a number not exceeding 20 persons, such first peopleing was about the year of the world 2200, or 2300, viz. 600 years after the Flood; and 16 or 1700 years, before the birth of our Saviour; at which time the world had between one and two millions of people only.

But, if the first peopleing of England was by a colony or colonies, consisting of a number between 100 and 1000 people (which is most probable), such colony or colonies were brought over between the year of the world 2400 and 2600; viz. about 8 or 900 years, after the Flood, and 14 or 1500 years, before the birth of our Saviour; at which time the world had about a million of families, and 4 or 5 millions of people.

From which hypothesis it will follow by an orderly series of increase;—

That, when the Romans invaded England, 53 years, before our Saviour's time, the kingdom had about 360,000 people; and, at our Saviour's birth, about 400,000 people;

That, at the Norman Conquest, Anno Christi 1066, the kingdom had somewhat above two millions of people;

That, Anno 1260, or about 200 years after the Norman Conquest, the kingdom had 2,750,000 people, or half the present number; so that the people of England have doubled in about 435 years last past;

That in probability the next doubling of the people of England will be in about 600 years to come, or by the year of our Lord 2300; at which time it will have eleven millions of people; but, that the next doubling after that, will not be (in all probability) in less than 12 or 1300 years more, or by the year of our Lord 3500 or 3600; at which time the kingdom will have 22 millions of souls, or four times its present number, in case the world should last so long,



Now, the kingdom containing but 39 millions of acres, it will then have less than two acres to each head, and consequently will not then be capable of any further increase.

That the increase of the kingdom, for every 100 years of the last preceding term of doubling, and the subsequent term of doubling, has been, and in all probability will be, according to the following scheme :

Anno Christi.	Number of People.	Increase every 100 Years.
1300	2,860,000	440,000
1400	3,300,000	540,000
1500	3,840,000	780,000
1600	4,620,000	880,000
1700	5,500,000	920,000
1800	6,420,000	930,000
1900	7,350,000	930,000
2000	8,280,000	925,000
2100	9,205,000	910,000
2200	10,115,000	885,000
2300	11,000,000	-

Whereby it appears, that the increase of the kingdom being 880,000 people, in the last 100 years, and 920,000 in the next succeeding 100 years, the annual increase at this time is about 9,000 souls per annum.

But, whereas the yearly burials of the kingdom are about 1 in 32, or 170,000 souls; and the yearly births 1 in 28, or 190,000 souls, Whereby the yearly increase should be 20,000 souls;

It is to be noted,

1. That the allowance for plagues and great mortalities comes to, at a medium } 4,000 per ann.
2. Foreign or civil wars, at a medium, - - - } 3,500 per ann.
3. The sea, constantly employing about 40,000, precipitates the death of about - - - } 2,500 per ann.
4. The plantations (over and above the accession of foreigners) carry away - - - - - } 1,000 per ann.

In all 11,000 per ann.

Whereby the neat annual increase is but - - - 9,000

In all 20,000.

That of these 20,000 souls, which would be the annual increase of the kingdom by procreation, were it not for the fore-mentioned abatements.

The

The country increases annually by procreation - 20,000 souls;  
 The cities and towus (exclufive of London,) - 2,000 souls;  
 But London and the Bills of Mortality decrease annually 2,000 souls.

So that London requires a fupply of 2,000 annually to keep it from decreasing, befides a further fupply of about 3,000 per annum for its increafe at this time: In all 5,000, or a moiety of the kingdom's neat increafe.

That, allowing London and the Bills of Mortality to have contained, in Julius Cæfar's time, between 4 and 5,000 fouls; and at the Norman Conqueft about 24,000 fouls, and at this time about 530,000 fouls; the increafe thereof hath been, and in all probability will be, according to the following fcheme of the duplication of its inhabitants.

Number of Souls.	Anno Christi.	Number of Years in which the People of London have doubled.
8,280	330	-
16,560	830	500
33,120	1,230	400
66,240	1,500	270
132,480	1,585	85
264,960	1,621	36
529,920	1,695	74
1,059,840	1,900	205
2,119,680	3,000	1,100

Whereby it appears, that London has doubled 3 times fince the year 1500; fo that it is now 8 times as big as it was then; and the prefent yearly increafe of London and the Bills of Mortality, would have been (had it not been for the prefent war) 3000 fouls per annum.

But in relation to the prefent war, we are to confider,

That if the nation do at this time contain - - - 5,500,000 fouls,  
 It did certain, anno 1688, about 50,000 more, or 5,550,000 fouls.

For that, inftead of a decrease of 11,000 per annum, out of the yearly increafe by procreation of 20,000; the faid decrease has been at a medium 19,000 per annum: In all for 7 years } 133,000

And that, inftead of an increafe of 20,000 per annum by procreation, the faid increafe has been at a medium but 12,000 per annum: In all for 7 years - - - - - } 84,000

So that the kingdom has decreased, in 7 years - - - 49,000.

OBSERVATIONS about PROCREATION,  
accounting the People to be 5,500,000 Souls.

By the fore-mentioned assessments on marriages, births, and burials, and the collector's returns thereupon, and by the parish registers; it appears, that the proportion of marriages, births, and burials, is, according to the following scheme,

People.	Annual Marriages:
530,000 London and Bills of Mortality -	} 1 in 106. In all 5,000; producing 4 Child <sup>n</sup> each.
870,000 The Cities and Market Towns	
4,100,000 The Villages and Hamlets - -	
<hr/> 5,500,000 - - - - -	<hr/> 1 in 134 - 41,000 - - - 4.64

	Annual Births.	Annual Burials.
London and Bills of Mortality	1 in 26½. In all 20,000	1 in 14. 1. In all 22,000
The Cities and Market Towns	1 in 28½. In all 30,600	1 in 30. 4. In all 28,600
The Villages and Hamlets -	1 in 29. 4. In all 139,400	1 in 34. 4. In all 119,400
	<hr/> 1 in 28. 85 190,000	<hr/> 1 in 32. 35 170,000

Whence we may observe, that in 1000 co-existing persons,

There are 71 or 72 marriages in the country, producing 34. 3 children.  
78 marriages in towns, - producing 35. 2 children.  
94 marriages in London - producing 37. 6 children.

Whereby it follows,

1. That though each marriage in London produceth fewer people than in the country, yet London, in general, having a greater proportion of breeders, is more prolific than the other great towns; and the great towns are more prolific than the country.
2. That if the people of London, of all ages, were as long lived as those in the country, London would increase in people much faster, pro ratâ than the country.
3. That the reason why each marriage in London produces fewer children than the country marriages, seems to be,
  1. From the more frequent fornications and adulteries.
  2. From a greater luxury and intemperance;
  3. From a greater intenfeness to businets;
  4. From the unhealthfulness of the coal smoke;
  5. From a greater inequality of age between the husbands and wives.

And

And, that it may appear what the effect is, of the inequality of ages in Married Couples, I have collected the following Observations, from a certain great town \* in the middle of the kingdom, consisting of near 3000 souls.

1. That there is no child of any parents, now living, in the said town, where the wife is 17 years older than the husband, or the husband 19 years older than the wife.

2. That the whole number of children being 1,060, the number of those where the mother was older than the father is 228, and where the husband was older than the wife, 832.

3. That one moiety of the whole number of children, in the said town, is the product of such parents, where the husband is 4 or more years older than the wife.

4. That the greater number of children, with respect to any one number of years of difference in age between the husband and wife, is, where the husband is two years older than the wife, the product whereof is 147, or a 7th part of the whole.

5. That an equality in age, in the husband and wife, is not so prolific as an inequality, provided that inequality exceed not a superiority of 4 years in the wife, or 10 years in the husband; for the equality of years produced but 23 children; whereas one year's inequality in the age of the parents, either way, produced above 60.

6. That of the said 1,060 children, in the whole town, near three quarters of them are the product of coalitions from 2 years superiority of age in the wife inclusive, to 6 years superiority of age in the husband, inclusive.

7. That the highest powers in men and women, for procreation, is, in that town, at 31 years of age in the husband, and 28 in the wife; the produce of the former being 86 children, and of the latter 83.

\* Litchfield.

8. That one moiety of the said 1,060 children are the product of fathers from 28 to 35 years of age inclusive, and of mothers from 25, to 32.

Whence it follows, that a just equality, or too great an inequality of age, in marriages, are prejudicial to the increase of mankind; and that the early or late marriages, in men and women, do tend little to the propagation of the human race.

Lastly, from a consideration of the male and female children in the said town, and the ages of their parents, at the time, when such children were respectively conceived, a scheme may be established, of the powers of generation, and the inclination of the several coalitions towards the producing the one or the other sex, according to the superiority of power in either sex, at the time of such respective coalitions.



§ VI.—THE Annual INCOME, and EXPENCE, of the Nation, as it stood Anno 1688.

THAT the yearly INCOME of the Nation, } Anno 1688, was - - - - -	} £.43,500,000 Sterling.
That the yearly expence of the nation was -	41,700,000
That then the yearly increafe of wealth was -	1,800,000.
<hr/>	
That the yearly RENT of the lands was about	10,000,000
Of the burgage, or houseing, about - - - -	2,000,000
Of all other hereditaments, about - - - -	1,000,000
	<hr/>
In all	13,000,000.
That the yearly PRODUCE of trade, arts, and } labours, was about - - - - -	} 30,500,000
	<hr/>
In all	43,500,000.
<hr/>	
That the number of inhabited houses being about	1,300,000,
the number of families about - - - - -	1,360,000,
and the number of people about - - - - -	5,500,000;—
The PEOPLE answer to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per house, and 4 per family.	
That the Yearly Estates, or Income, of the several families, answer,	
In common, to about - - - - -	£.32. 0. 0. per Family.
And about - - - - -	7. 18. 0. per Head.
That the yearly expence of the nation is about	7. 11. 4. per Head.
And the yearly increafe about - - - - -	0. 6 8. per Head.
<hr/>	
That the whole value of the kingdom, in } general, is about - - - - -	} £.650,000,000 Sterling.
<hr/>	
<i>Viz.</i> The 13 millions of yearly rents, at about } 18 years purchase - - - - -	} 234,000,000 Sterling.
The 30 millions and a half per annum, by } trade, arts, labours, &c. at near 11 years } purchase, (which, being the value of the } 5 millions and a half of people, at £. 60 } per head), comes to - - - - -	} 330,000,000.
The stock of the kingdom, in money, plate, } jewels, and household goods, about -	} 28,000,000.
The stock of the kingdom, in shipping, forts, } ammunition, stores, foreign or home goods, } wares, and provisions for trade abroad, or } consumption at home, and all instruments } and materials relating thereto - - -	} 33,000,000.
The live stock of the kingdom, in cattle, } beasts, fowl, &c. - - - - -	} 25,000,000.
In all	£.650,000,000 Sterling.
<hr/>	

## A SCHEME of the INCOME, and EXPENCE, of the several

Number of Families.	RANKS, DEGREES, TITLES, AND QUALIFICATIONS.	Heads per Family.
160 - -	Temporal Lords - - - - -	40
26 - -	Spiritual Lords - - - - -	20
800 - -	Baronets - - - - -	16
600 - -	Knights - - - - -	13
3,000 - -	Esquires - - - - -	10
12,000 - -	Gentlemen - - - - -	8
5,000 - -	Persons in Offices - - - - -	8
5,000 - -	Persons in Offices - - - - -	6
2,000 - -	Merchants and Traders by Sea - - - - -	8
3,000 - -	Merchants and Traders by Land - - - - -	6
10,000 - -	Persons in the Law - - - - -	7
2,000 - -	Clergymen - - - - -	6
3,000 - -	Clergymen - - - - -	5
40,000 - -	Freeholders - - - - -	7
140,000 - -	Freeholders - - - - -	5
150,000 - -	Farmers - - - - -	5
16,000 - -	Persons in Sciences and Liberal Arts - - - - -	5
40,000 - -	Shop-keepers and Tradesmen - - - - -	4½
60,000 - -	Artizans and Handicrafts - - - - -	4
5,000 - -	Naval Officers - - - - -	4
4,000 - -	Military Officers - - - - -	4
511,586 Families.	- - - - -	5½
50,000 - -	Common Seamen - - - - -	3
364,000 - -	Labouring People and Out Servants - - - - -	3½
400,000 - -	Cottagers and Paupers - - - - -	3¼
35,000 - -	Common Soldiers - - - - -	2
849,000 Families.	- - - - -	3¼
- - - - -	Vagrants - - - - -	-
849,000 - - - -	- - - - -	3¼
So the GENERAL		
511,586 Families;	Increasing the Wealth of the Kingdom - -	5½
849,000 Families;	Decreasing the Wealth of the Kingdom - -	3¼
1,360,586 Families.	Nett Totals - -	1½

FAMILIES of *England*; calculated for the Year 1688.

Number of Persons.	Yearly Income per Family.	Total of the Estates or Income.	Yearly Income per Head.	Expence per Head.	Increase per Head.	Total Increase per Annum.
	£. s.	£.	£. s.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£.
6,400	2,800 —	448,000	70 —	60 — —	10 — —	64,000
520	1,300 —	33,800	65 —	55 — —	10 — —	5,200
12,800	880 —	704,000	55 —	51 — —	4 — —	51,000
7,800	650 —	390,000	50 —	46 — —	4 — —	31,200
30,000	450 —	1,200,000	45 —	42 — —	3 — —	90,000
96,000	280 —	2,880,000	35 —	32 10 —	2 10 —	240,000
40,000	240 —	1,200,000	30 —	27 — —	3 — —	120,000
30,000	120 —	600,000	20 —	18 — —	2 — —	60,000
16,000	400 —	800,000	50 —	40 — —	10 — —	160,000
48,000	200 —	1,600,000	33 —	28 — —	5 — —	240,000
70,000	140 —	1,400,000	20 —	17 — —	3 — —	210,000
12,000	60 —	120,000	10 —	9 — —	1 — —	12,000
40,000	45 —	360,000	9 —	8 — —	1 — —	40,000
280,000	84 —	3,360,000	12 —	11 — —	1 — —	280,000
700,000	50 —	7,000,000	10 —	9 10 —	— 10 —	350,000
750,000	44 —	6,600,000	8 15	8 10 —	— 5 —	187,000
80,000	60 —	800,000	12 —	11 10 —	1 10 —	40,000
180,000	45 —	1,800,000	10 —	9 10 —	— 10 —	90,000
240,000	40 —	2,400,000	10 —	9 10 —	— 10 —	120,000
20,000	80 —	400,000	20 —	18 — —	2 — —	40,000
16,000	60 —	240,000	15 —	14 — —	1 — —	16,000
2,675,520	67 —	34,495,800	12 18	12 — —	— 18 —	2,447,100
						Decrease.
150,000	20 —	1,000,000	7 —	7 10 —	— 10 —	75,000
1,275,000	15 —	5,460,000	4 10	4 12 —	— 2 —	127,500
1,300,000	6 10	2,000,000	2 —	2 5 —	— 5 —	325,000
70,000	14 —	490,000	7 —	7 10 —	— 10 —	35,000
2,795,000	10 10	8,950,000	3 5	3 9 —	— 4 —	562,000
30,000	- -	60,000	2 —	3 — —	1 — —	60,000
2,825,000	10 10	9,010,000	3 3	3 7 6	— 4 6	622,000
ACCOUNT is:						
2,675,520	67 —	34,495,800	12 18	12 — —	— 18 —	2,447,000
2,825,000	10 10	9,010,000	3 3	3 7 6	— 4 6	622,000
5,500,520	32 —	43,505,800	7 18	7 11 3	— 6 9	1,825,100

**A CALCULATION of the Quantity of SILVER, and GOLD, in England, France, and Holland, in Europe, and in the World in general, and of the Increase, and Consumption, thereof, Anno 1688.**

This Calculation is built upon this Hypothesis:

1. That the silver and gold in Europe, at the discovery of the West Indies, near 200 years ago, was but 45 millions Sterling; but is now about 5 times as much, or 225 millions.

2. That there have been 520 millions of silver and gold imported into Europe from America, within these last 180 years: besides what has been produced in Europe, or imported into it from Asia, and Africa.

Whereby the Account of EUROPE stands thus:

The existing stock of silver and gold in Europe,	}	45 Millions Ster <sup>i</sup> .
180 years ago - - - - -		
Produced in Europe within these last 180 years		8 Millions.
Imported into Europe from Asia in manufactures		2 Millions.
from Africa, in gold dust,	}	15 Millions.
&c. - - - - -		
from America, in specie -		
		<u>520 Millions.</u>
In all		<u>590 Millions.</u>

Whereof 545 millions having been produced in Europe, or imported into it, within these last 180 years; viz.

In the first eighty years - 205 millions, or £.2,560,000 per annum,  
And in the last hundred years 340 millions, or 3,400,000 per annum;

We may conclude, that the existing stock of silver and gold in Europe;

Being, 200 years ago - - - - - 45 millions,  
Was, - 100 years ago - - - - - 100 millions,  
And is at present - - - - - 225 millions:

It has increased—

In the first 80 years - 55 millions, or £.700,000 per annum;  
In the last 100 years 125 millions, or 1,250,000 per annum;

180 millions:



So this last 100 years Europe has—

Produced and imported 340 millions, or £.3,400,000 per annum.  
 Increased - - - 125 millions, or 1,250,000 per annum.

Consumed and exported 215 millions, or 2,150,000 per annum.

Now, before we come to the particulars how these 215 millions, in gold and silver, have been consumed in Europe, within this last 100 years, we shall consider in what the 225 millions, which we estimate to be the present stock of Europe, in gold and silver, and things made thereof, do consist; viz.

	In Europe in general.	In England.	In France.	In Holland.
Coined Silver - - -	110 Millions	£.8,500,000	£.18,000,000	£.7,000,000
Coined Gold - - -	28 Millions	3,000,000	5,000,000	2,000,000
Bullion - - - -	8 Millions	1,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Lay Plate - - - -	46 Millions	4,000,000	9,000,000	1,500,000
Church Plate - - -	20 Millions	200,000	3,000,000	100,000
Medals and Rarities -	5 Millions	200,000	900,000	300,000
Gold & Silver Thread and Wire, and Things made thereof in wear }	6 Millions	400,000	1,400,000	100,000
D <sup>o</sup> in Stock for Trade	2 Millions	200,000	600,000	300,000
	<u>225 Millions</u>	<u>17,500,000</u>	<u>39,400,000</u>	<u>12,800,000</u>

Whereupon we have estimated the consumption of the 315 millions of Gold and Silver, in Europe, within the last 100 years, which is £.3,150,000 per annum, as followeth:—

	In Europe in general.	In England.	In France.	In Holland.	
By the wear of Silver Coin - a 1000th Part of the 110 Mill <sup>s</sup>	110,000	8,500	18,000	7,000	
The wear of Gold Coin - a 1000th Part of - - 28 Mill <sup>s</sup>	28,000	3,000	5,000	2,000	
Waste in Coinage - - a 2000th Part of - - - 2 Mill <sup>s</sup>	10,000	1,250	2,500	800	
Waste in working of Plate a 150th Part of - - - 3 Mill <sup>s</sup>	20,000	1,600	4,000	700	
The wear of Wrought Plate a 800th Part of - - 66 Mill <sup>s</sup>	82,000	4,000	12,000	1,600	
The wear of things made of Gold & Silver Thread or Wire - - - - - }	a 10th Part of - - - 6 Mill <sup>s</sup>	600,000	60,000	180,000	20,000
Leaf & Shell Gold & Silver	The whole of £.50,000 - -	50,000	6,000	20,000	3,000
Loft in Casualties at Sea - a 70th Part of - - - 2 Mill <sup>s</sup>	30,000	7,000	10,000	10,000	
Loft by Fires, Inunda- tions, &c. - a - - - }	a 4000th Part of - - 200 Mill <sup>s</sup>	5,000	1,000	2,000	500
Liquid Gold and Silver - The Half of £.10,000 - - -	5,000	500	1,500	200	
Buried & loft, not known how - - - - - }	a 7000th Part of - - 140 Mill <sup>s</sup>	20,000	2,000	5,000	500
Exported out of Europe, by Trade, &c. - - - }	- - - - - - - - - -	1,190,000	240,000	160,000	300,000
		<u>In all - - - 2,150,000</u>	<u>334,850</u>	<u>420,000</u>	<u>346,300</u>

Whereby



Whereby it appears, that the two principal articles, by which the gold and silver of Europe is consumed, are, in things made of gold and silver thread and wire, and in coin, or bullion exported in trade; these two articles alone being 7 parts in 8 of the whole consumption of the gold and silver of Europe.

As to the world in general, I compute the existing stock, 180 years ago, at 500 millions.

The produce this last 180 years, 1,200 millions: The consumption, 850 millions.

The increase, 350 millions, which, added to the 500 millions, make the present stock 850 millions.

## § VII.—THE several sorts of LAND in England, with the Value, and Product thereof.

ENGLAND and WALES contain 39 Millions of Acres; viz.

	Acres.	Value per Acre.	Rent.
Arable land - - - -	11,000,000	at 5s. 10d. per acre	£3,200,000
Pasture and meadow -	10,000,000	at 9s. - - per acre	4,500,000
Woods and coppices -	3,000,000	at 5s. - - per acre	750,000
Forests, parks, and commons - - - - }	3,000,000	at 3s. 6d. per acre	550,000
Heaths, moors, mountains, and barren lands }	10,000,000	at 1s. - - per acre	500,000
Houses, and homesteads, gardens, and orchards, churches, and churchyards - - - - }	1,000,000		{ The land - - 450,000 { The buildings 2,000,000
Rivers, lakes, meres, and ponds - - - - }	500,000	at 2s. - - per acre	- 50,000
Roads, ways, and waste lands - - - - }	500,000	at - - - per acre.	
In all	39,000,000	at 6s. 2d. per acre	12,000,000

	True Yearly Value.	Value as rated to the 4s. Tax.	Produce of the 4s. Tax,
So the yearly rents, or value of the land is	10 millions	6,500,000	1,300,000
The houses and buildings	2 millions	1,500,000	300,000
All other hereditaments	1 million	500,000	100,000
Personal estates, &c.	1 million	550,000	100,000
In all	14 millions	9,050,000	1,800,000

So that, whereas the tax of 4s. per pound produces but £.1,800,000  
 It should produce (if duly assessed) - - - - - 2,800,000.

The PRODUCE of the Arable Land, I thus estimate :

	Of Bushels.	Per Bushel.	Value.	This is the only nett Produce exclusive of the Seed Corn, which in some Sorts of Grain, being nearly a 4th of the Produce in others, a 5th, may in general be reckoned, about 17 Millions of Bushels more, which make the whole Produce to be 90 Millions of Bushels, which at 2s. 3d. per Bushel in common are full 10 Mill <sup>s</sup> Sterl <sup>g</sup> .
Wheat	12 Millions,	at 3s. 6d.	£.2,100,000	
Rye	8 Millions,	at 2s. 6d.	1,000,000	
Barley	25 Millions,	at 2s.	2,500,000	
Oats	16 Millions,	at 1s. 6d.	1,200,000	
Peas	7 Millions,	at 2s. 6d.	875,000	
Beans	4 Millions,	at 2s. 6d.	500,000	
Vetches, &c.	1 Million,	at 2s.	100,000	
	73 Millions.	at 2s. 3d.	8,275,000	

These 73 millions of bushels of grain are the product of 10 of the 11 millions of acres of arable land; the other million of acres producing hemp, flax, woad, saffron, dying weeds, &c.; the value of the product whereof is about 1 million sterling. So that the rent of the corn land being under £.3,000,000 per annum, and the nett produce thereof above 8 millions, the produce is near treble to the rent.

Now the RENTS or YEARLY VALUE of the pasture and meadow, woods, coppices, forests, parks, commons, heaths, and moors, mountains and barren land, being - - - - - £.6,250,000 sterling

The produce can scarce make above two rents, or 12 millions; there being little charge either in cultivating the land, or gathering the product thereof, comparatively to what there is in the arable land.

This produce is principally in and by cattle, hay, timber, and firewood.

The produce by cattle, in butter, cheefe, and milk,	is about	£. 2,500,000
The value of the wool yearly shorn	is about	2,000,000
The value of the horses yearly bred	is about	250,000
The value of the flesh yearly spent as food	is about	3,350,000
The value of the tallow and hides of the cattle	- - -	600,000
The value of hay yearly consumed by horses	about	1,300,000
The hay yearly consumed by other cattle,	- - -	1,000,000
The timber yearly felled for building and such uses,	- - -	500,000
The wood yearly spent in firing and petty uses,	- - -	500,000

So the produce (including one million sterling in hay spent by cattle) is in all, - - - - - £. 12,000,000

## AN ESTIMATE of the LIVE STOCK of the Nation.

	Yearly Breed or Increase.	The whole Stock.	Value of each besides the Skin.	Value of the Stock
Beeves, sterks, and calves	800,000	4,500,000	£.2 0 0	9,000,000
Sheep and lambs	3,200,000	11,000,000	0 8 0	4,400,000
Swine and pigs	1,300,000	2,000,000	0 16 0	1,600,000
Deer and fawns	20,000	100,000	2 0 0	200,000
Goats and kids	10,000	50,000	0 10 0	25,000
Hares and leverets	12,000	24,000	0 1 6	1,800
Rabbits and conies	2,000,000	1,000,000	0 0 5	21,100
	<u>7,342,000</u>	<u>18,074,000</u>		<u>£. 15,247,900</u>

So the value of the Live Stock for food is	- - -	£. 15,247,900
The value of the horses (and asses) being 1,200,000, at £. 2 2s. each, breeding annually 100,000, is	}	3,000,000
The value of the pelts and skins (over and above the wool)		2,400,000
		<u>20,647,900</u>

The value of the wool yearly shorn (or pelted) 10,000,000 fleeces, 2,000,000 lbs. at 4s. per fleece, or 28s. per tod at 12d. per lb.	}	2,000,000
The value of the whole stock of tame fowl, as geese, turkies, hens, ducks, pigeons, and pea- cocks		460,000
The whole stock of wild fowl about	- - -	12,000
In all	-	<u>23,119,900</u>

## AN ESTIMATE of the Yearly Consumption of FLESH in the Nation:

	Number of the Yearly Con- sumption.	Weight of each Carcase.	Price of a lb. weight.	Price of each Beast.	Value of the Yearly Consumption.	Weight of the Yearly Consumption.
Beeves and Calves	800,000	260 lbs. wt	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ d.	£. 1 18	£. 1,520,000	208,000,000 lbs. wt
Sheep and Lambs	3,200,000	32	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	— 6	— 960,000	102,400,000
Swine and Pigs	1,300,000	46	3d.	— 11 6	— 750,000	59,800,000
Deer and Fawns	20,000	70	6d.	— 1 15	— 35,000	1,400,000
Goats and Kids	10,000	36	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	— 7 6	— 4,000	360,000
Hares and Leverets	12,000	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	7d.	— 1 6	— 900	30,000
Rabbits and Conies	2,000,000	$\frac{3}{4}$ — $\frac{7}{2}$	6d.	— 5	— 42,100	1,700,000
	<u>7,342,000</u>				<u>3,302,000</u>	<u>373,690,000</u>
Tame Fowl	- - -	- - -	at 6d. per lb.	- - -	600,000	24,000,000
Wild Fowl	- - -	- - -	at 12d. per lb.	- - -	20,000	400,000
In all	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	<u>£. 3,922,000</u>	<u>398,090,000 lbs. w</u>

Which for 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  Millions of People is—

In Value { 14s. 3d. per Annum.  
          { - -  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per Diem, each.

In Weight { 72 lbs. 6 oz. per Annum.  
          { [- -  $\frac{1}{3}$ . per Diem.

But, for 2,700,000 persons, being the number of those, who eat Flesh constantly, the foresaid proportion of 398,090,000 pounds weight of flesh yearly spent as food, comes to  $6\frac{2}{3}$  ounces per head per diem, and  $147\frac{1}{2}$  pound weight per head per annum, besides Dutch beef, Westphalia bacon, &c.

The remaining 2,800,000 persons not eating of flesh being these:

200,000 infants under 13 months old,

40,000 sick persons,

260,000 part of 700,000 persons, who feed on fish at least 2 days in 7.

1,280,000 part of 1,760,000 persons contained in 440,000 families, who, by reason of their poverty, do not contribute to church or poor, and consequently eat not flesh above 2 days in 7.

1,020,000 part of 1,200,000 persons contained in 440,000 families who receive alms, and consequently eat not flesh above once a week.

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2,800,000.

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### § VIII.—THE BEER, ALE, and MALT annually consumed in England; and the Revenue of Excise arising thereby.

THAT the Arable Land of England is near - - - - 11,000,000 of Acres;  
Of which the Barley Land is almost a third, or - - 3,200,000 Acres;

Whereof somewhat above two thirds being yearly sowed, }  
and the other third fallow, the Land yearly sowed with } 2,200,000 Acres;  
Barley is about - - - - - }

Which, at 15 bushels per Acre, is 33 millions of bushels of Barley.

*Viz.*—Malted and brewed into Ale and Beer  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions of bushels.

Malted and made into Spirits, and }  
for other uses - - - - - } 1 mill<sup>n</sup> of bushels.  $22\frac{1}{2}$  mill<sup>n</sup> malted.

Seed Corn, at near 4 bushels per Acre  $8\frac{1}{2}$  mill<sup>n</sup> of bushels.

Barley for bread, feeding of poultry, &c.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mill<sup>n</sup> of bush.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  mill<sup>n</sup> unmalted

In all - - - 33 millions of bushels.

Which  $22\frac{1}{2}$  millions of bushels of malted }  
Barley may well produce - - - - - } 24 mill<sup>ns</sup> of bushels of malt.

That the Malt brewed into Ale and Beer is 23 millions of bushels.

Whereof the Malt brewed for sale is much }  
about - - - - - } 13,500,000 bushels.

And for private use - - - - - 9,500,000 bushels.

And



And that the difference between the years 1688 and 1695 is according to the following Scheme :

A <sup>o</sup> 1688.	Bushels of Malt.	Producing	Barrels strong.	} Excised - 4,800,000 at 2s. 6d. per barrel - £.600,000	}
		15,900,000	5,300,000		
	7,100,000	Barls small. Producing 7,100,000	Excised - 2,400,000 at 6d. per barrel - - 60,000	Not excised 4,700,000.	
	<u>23,000,000</u>	- -	<u>12,400,000</u>	- - - - -	<u>£. 660,000</u>
A <sup>o</sup> 1695.	Barls strong.	Producing	Barls strong.	} Excised - 3,200,000 at 4s. 9d. per barrel - £.766,100	}
		14,500,000	3,850,000		
	7,500,000	Barls small. Producing 7,500,000	Excised - 2,200,000 at 1s. 3d. per barrel - 137,800	Not excised 5,300,000.	
	<u>22,000,000</u>	- -	<u>11,350,000</u>	- - - - -	<u>£. 903,600</u>

Whence it follows,

That if the drink brewed for private use, A<sup>o</sup> 1688, had paid the then Duty of Excise, it had come to } £.840,000;  
£. 180,000, and in the whole - - - - - }

That if the drink brewed for private use, A<sup>o</sup> 1695, should pay the present Duty, it would come to } £.1,311,850;  
£. 408,250, and in the whole - - - - - }

That raising the Excise has reduced the consumption of malt from 23 millions of bushels to 22 millions;

That it has reduced the quantity of drink brewed from 12,400,000 barrels, to 11,350,000 barrels;

That it has decreased public brewing from 4,800,000 barrels of strong drink, to 3,230,000 barrels; and from 2,400,000 barrels of small to 2,200,000 barrels;

And that it hath increased private brewing from 500,000 barrels of strong to 620,000 barrels; and from 4,700,000 barrels of small to 5,300,000 barrels;

Lastly, That 9d. per bushel on Malt, at the Kiln, is much about equivalent to the present Excise; and that 18d. per bushel on Malt, at the Mash Fatt, would come to One Million sterling.



§ IX.—A CALCULATION of the POLL BILLS, and some other Taxes, and what may be raised by some Commodities not yet taxed.

THAT the Produce of the 12d Polls 1st Will. and Mary, being - - - - - £. 288,300,  
 And of the Quarterly Poll, 3d Will. and Mary, - - - - - 597,500,  
 The people of England do not appear, by the 1st Poll Bills, to be above - 5,400,000 souls,  
 Though in the consumption and expence of the nation they answer to near - - - - - 5,500,000 souls;—  
 As by the following Scheme :

	12d Poll, 1st W. and M.	Quarterly Poll, 3d W. and M.
The number of people as they answered in the Poll Tax - - - - -	5,400,000	5,390,000 :
<i>Viz.</i> —Persons receiving alms - - - - -	600,000	620,000
Their children under 16 years - - - - -	300,000	310,000
Persons not paying to church and poor (660,000) - - - - -	. . . . .	670,000
Their children under 16 years - - - - -	600,000	610,000
Children under 16 of day labourers - - - - -	240,000	260,000
Children under 16 of servants in husbandry - - - - -	140,000	160,000
Children under 16, of such as have 4 children, or more, and are not worth £. 50, (150,000 parents) - - - - -	180,000	200,000
Omitted by neglect, or otherwise deficient - - - - -	100,000	120,000
So the number of those that were excused, or insolvent, is - - - - -	2,150,000	2,950,000
The number of the solvent people - - - - -	3,250,000	2,440,000
In all - - - - -	<u>5,400,000</u>	<u>5,390,000</u>
	At 12d. per head.	At 4s. per head.
So the common duty of the solvent people } amounted to - - - - -	162,500	488,000
And all other parts of the said Polls - - - - -	125,800	109,500
In all - - - - -	<u>288,300</u>	<u>597,500</u>
F f		<i>Note</i>

*Note*—That the Quarterly Poll excused all such as, by reason of their poverty, did not contribute to Church and Poor; whereas the Twelvepenny Poll excused only their children under 16 years, but not the parents themselves: Whereby the Quarterly Poll excused 600,000 persons more than the Twelvepenny Poll, by that single article.

That, if all persons had paid the common duty only upon the Twelvepenny Poll, without any thing for degrees, titles, or qualifications, it would have raised near as much as it did, or - - - £.275,000;

And that, if all persons had paid only the common duty of 4s. upon the Quarterly Poll, it would have raised near twice as much as it did, or - - - - - 1,100,000.

Of the present DUTY ON MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, and BURIALS; accounting the People to be 5,400,000 Souls.

At a Medium in Time of Peace:

Yearly	In all	Com. Duty.	But A <sup>o</sup> 1695, Thus:	£.	
Burials 1 in 32	— 170,000 at 4s. each	34,000	— 1 in 29½	— 183,000	36,600
Births 1 in 28	— 190,000 at 2s. each	19,000	— 1 in 30½	— 177,000	17,700
Marriages 1 in 132	— 41,000 at 2s. 6d.	— 5,125	— 1 in 140	— 39,000	4,875
Batchelors 1 in 40	— 140,000 at 1s.	— 7,000	— 1 in 40	— 140,000	7,000
Widowers 1 in 200	— 27,000 at 1s.	— 1,350	— 1 in 200	— 27,000	1,350
	In all	— £.66,475			<u>67,525</u>

OMISSIONS, FRAUDS, and INSOLVENT:

In Burials	— 6 per cent.	— 10,000 at 4s. each	—	£.2,000
Births	— 3 per cent.	— 6,000 at 2s.	—	600
Marriages	10½ per cent.	— 1000 at 2s. 6d.	—	125
Batchelors	10 per cent.	— 14,000 at 1s.	—	700
Widowers	5 per cent.	— 1,500 at 1s.	—	75
	In all	—	—	<u>£.3,500</u>

Excused by receiving ALMS:

In Burials	—	— 60,000	—	— 60,000
Births	30 per cent.	— 60,000 at 2s. each	—	£.6,000
Marriages	10 per cent.	— 4,000 at 2s. 6d.	—	500
Batchelors	5 per cent.	— 7,000 at 1s.	—	350
Widowers	20 per cent.	— 5,000 at 1s.	—	250
	In all	—	—	<u>£.7,100</u>

So the common Duty comes to - - - - - 66,475  
 And the Deductions - - - - - 10,600

Whereby the neat produce of the common Duty is - - - - - £.55,875

The Persons charged for Quality are about 1 in 10 of the whole; viz.

Burials	- - -	17,000	— at 14s. each	- -	£. 11,900
Births	- - -	19,000	— at 8s. each	- -	7,600
Marriages	- - -	4,000	— at 10s. each	- -	2,000
Batchelors	- - -	14,000	— at 5s. each	- -	3,500
Widowers	- - -	3,000	— at 5s. each	- -	1,500

		In all, for Quality	- -	£. 26,500
Omissions, Frauds, and Insolvents, in Quality, a	}			
20th part, or				- 1,325

Whereby the neat Produce for Quality is	- - -	25,175
And the neat Produce of the Common Duty	- - -	55,875

So the neat Produce, in all, should be - - - - - 81,050

Whereas it is given for - - - - - £. 130,000.

Of the present DUTY on HOUSES and WINDOWS, for supplying the Deficiency of the Clipt Money.

The number of inhabited houses is near	- - - - -	1,300,000
The number of windows under	- - - - -	9,000,000

Houses.

Whereof 980,000 under 10 windows, at 2s. per house	£. 98,000
270,000 under 20 windows, at 6s. per house	81,000
50,000 above 20 windows, at 10s. per house	25,000

<u>1,300,000</u>	- - - - -	<u>£. 204,000</u>
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Out of which Deducting—

Houses.

For those who receive alms	330,000, at 2s. per house	£. 33,000
Those who do not pay to church and poor	} 380,000, at 2s. 4d.	44,000
Omissions, frauds, and defaulters		

Insolvent,—In all + 750,000 - - - - - £. 85,000

Solvent,—In all - - 550,000 - - - - - 119,000

So that the neat produce is but - - - - - £. 119,000 per ann.

Whereas, it being granted for 7 years, and valued }  
 at £. 1,200,000 sterling, it is given for above - } 170,000 per ann.

But, whereas the premium and interest money, upon advancing such part of the sum (which the act hath given credit for) as the fund will bear, may be estimated at 12 or 13 per cent. and the collecting and other charges 5 or 6 per cent: In all, 18 or 19 per cent.

It follows, that the neat produce to the Exchequer will be but £.100,000 per annum, applicable to the discharge of principal and interest; but, if one half of the £.1,200,000 be advanced the first year upon the credit of the act, and that a fourth part of the said £.119,000, should be paid, in the first year, in light hammered money, worth only  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the tale, the produce of the first year, applicable to the discharge of the principal money, will not be above £.50,000.

So that if the whole deficiency of the clipped money should, instead of £.1,200,000, amount to £.2,400,000, it will be about 24 years before the said duty will discharge the principal and interest, though there should be no further anticipations thereon than 5 or £.600,000 at the first, and though the said duty should produce, by the end of the said 24 years, £.114,000 per annum clear, applicable to the discharge of the principal.

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As to some COMMODITIES not yet TAXED.

	Per Ann.
That a halfpenny per lb. on common soap, } and a penny per lb. on Castile soap, }	will raise near £.50,000
That a halfpenny per lb. on candles - -	will raise about 70,000
That three halfpence in the shilling on } leather, parchment, and vellum, - - }	will be - - - 100,000
That 1d. per bushel on malt will raise £.100,000 per annum ; consequently 3d. per bushel will raise £.300,000 - - -	300,000
That 3d. per bushel on wheat will raise - - - - -	150,000
That 2d. per bushel on rye will raise - - - - -	67,000
That 1d. per bushel on all barley and oats brought } to the mill, will raise - - - - - }	- 13,000

In all - - £.750,000

That 1d. in the Crown, of the value of all live cattle, } will raise - - - - - }	- 400,000
That 1d. in the shilling on all flesh spent as food, will raise -	300,000
That 3d. per fleece, for each fleece of wool shorn, will raise -	100,000

In all - - £.800,000

That 2s. per cent. on all materials for building or } repairs, will raise - - - - - }	- 300,000
That 10 per cent. upon all wool consumed, or manu- } factured, will raise - - - - - }	- 500,000

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§ X.—THE STATE of the NATION, Anno 1695.

THAT the present income of the nation is a }  
 million less than it was anno 1688, and is } 42½ millions sterling.  
 now but about - - - - - }

That the yearly expence is about 40½ millions, }  
 and the taxes 5 millions.—In all - - - } 45½ millions sterling.

That the kingdom does now yearly decrease - 3 millions sterling.

That if the war were to continue to anno 1698 inclusive:

That the yearly income will in probability }  
 be but - - - - - } 38½ millions sterling.

The expence - 38½ millions. }  
 Taxes - - - 4 millions. } In all 42½ millions sterling.

The yearly decrease - - - - - 4 millions sterling.

According to the following Scheme :

	Annual Income of the Nation.	Annual Expence of the Nation.	Ordinary Revenue of the Crown	Extraordinary Taxes actually raised.	Annual Expence in all.	Increase or Decrease of the Nation.
An <sup>o</sup> 1688	43,500	41,700	2,000,000	- - - - -	41,700,000	Incr. 1,800,000
1689	43,600	41,500	1,800,000	3,000,000	44,500,000	Decr. 900,000
1690	43,700	41,500	1,800,000	4,000,000	45,500,000	Decr. 1,800,000
1691	43,800	41,400	1,700,000	4,000,000	45,400,000	Decr. 1,600,000
1692	43,800	41,200	1,700,000	4,000,000	45,200,000	Decr. 1,400,000
1693	43,600	41,000	1,600,000	4,000,000	45,000,000	Decr. 1,400,000
1694	43,100	40,800	1,600,000	5,000,000	45,800,000	Decr. 2,700,000
1695	42,500	40,500	1,500,000	5,000,000	45,500,000	Decr. 3,000,000
1696	41,600	40,100	1,500,000	4,500,000	44,600,000	Decr. 3,000,000
1697	40,200	39,500	1,400,000	4,500,000	43,800,000	Decr. 3,600,000
1698	38,500	38,500	1,400,000	4,000,000	42,500,000	Decr. 4,000,000

Hence we may infer,

That in 7 years, from 1688 to 1695 inclusive, }  
 the taxes have amounted to, effectually - } 29 millions sterling.

But, that the kingdom is scarce actually decreased }  
 13 millions.

So that, by industry, and frugality, there have }  
 been saved full - - - - - } 16 millions.

That, by the year 1698, inclusive, the taxes }  
 will, in 10 years, have amounted to, in all } 42 millions.

probability, effectually - - - - - }

And the kingdom will be actually decreased - 23½ millions.



That, after the year 1695, the taxes actually raised will fall short every year, more and more, to that degree, that the war cannot well be sustained beyond the year 1698 upon the foot it now stands, unless—

1. The yearly income of the nation can be increased :
2. Or the yearly expence diminished :
3. Or a foreign or home credit be obtained or established :
4. Or the confederacy be enlarged :
5. Or the state of the war altered :
6. Or a general excise, in effect, introduced :

Now, whereas, by the foregoing scheme, the wealth of the kingdom seems to be actually decreased almost 13 millions sterling, between 1688 and 1695, inclusive; and will probably decrease by 1698, inclusive, above 10 millions and a half more—In all about 23 millions and a half in ten years:—The said decrease seems to be thus chargeable :

	The Stock of the Kingdom 1688.	Decrease by the Year 1695.	Remaining Stock, An <sup>o</sup> 1695.	Decrease by the Year 1698.	Remaining Stock, An <sup>o</sup> 1698.
Coined Silver - - - - -	8,500,000	4,000,000	4,500,000	1,500,000	3,000,000
Coined Gold - - - - -	3,000,000	- - - -	3,000,000	1,500,000	1,500,000
Uncoined Silver and Gold - -	500,000	400,000	100,000	100,000	
Wrought Plate, Rings, &c. -	4,000,000	1,600,000	2,400,000	1,200,000	1,200,000
Jewels - - - - -	1,500,000	500,000	1,000,000	200,000	800,000
Furniture, Apparel, &c. - -	10,500,000	2,500,000	8,000,000	1,500,000	6,500,000
	<u>28,000,000</u>	<u>9,000,000</u>	<u>19,000,000</u>	<u>6,000,000</u>	<u>13,000,000</u>
Stock for Trade, Consump- } tion, &c. - - - - - }	33,000,000	3,000,000	30,000,000	3,500,000	26,500,000
The Live Stock in Cattie, &c.	25,000,000	1,000,000	24,000,000	1,000,000	23,000,000
	<u>86,000,000</u>	<u>13,000,000</u>	<u>73,000,000</u>	<u>10,500,000</u>	<u>62,500,000</u>

Hence it follows, that if the stock of the nation, which was 86 millions sterling anno 1688; viz. about double to the yearly income and expence, shall be decreased to 62 millions and a half by anno 1698; the war cannot well be sustained longer than that year, for these reasons:—

1. For that the money of the kingdom will then be but  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions; viz. but one-tenth of the annual expence, less than which cannot circulate the whole;

2. That the wrought plate will be little above a million, consequently; nothing to be spared further from that article;

3. That 7 millions in jewels, household stuff, furniture, apparel, &c. is the least quantity we can imagine that article reduceable unto, the bedding of the kingdom amounting to one half of that sum;

4. That,

4. That, if the flock of the kingdom, in shipping, forts, and castles, and in naval and military stores and appointments, and for foreign trade and home consumption, and all the branches of that article, be reduced from 33 to 26 millions; if it should be further lessened the nation cannot be secure, trade cannot be carried on, nor a sufficient stock of provisions left to supply us in time of difficulty;

5. That if the live stock of the nation, which will then be diminished a 12th part, should be further diminished, it may occasion an excessive rise of the price of wool, leather, flesh, butter, and cheese, not much short of a famine, unless the number of people decrease proportionably; the effect whereof will be equally pernicious.

§ XI.—The STATE OF FRANCE, and HOLLAND, Anno 1688, and Anno 1695.

AS to the State of FRANCE, Anno 1688;

THAT France contains about	- - - -	126 millions of acres.
Which at about 40 acres per family, is	-	3,200,000 families.
And allowing full nine acres per head, and	}	14,000,000 souls.
4 $\frac{1}{4}$ heads per family, is		
That the yearly rents of the lands and other	}	32,000,000 sterling.
hereditaments of France, at 5 s. per acre, is		
The trade and business of France	- - -	52,000,000
	In all	84,000,000 sterling.

Which is for every head in France about - £. 6. per annum.

OF this 86 millions income per annum in times of peace,

The taxes and revenue	}	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, or £. — 15s. per head.
of the crown is about		
The consumption over	}	70 millions, - - or 5 — per head.
and above taxes, &c.		
The yearly increase	-	3 $\frac{1}{8}$ millions, - - or — 5s. per head.
	In all	84 millions, - - or £. 6. — per head.

AS to the 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  millions sterling, for the ordinary taxes and public revenue of France in time of peace,

The necessary charge of the government requires	7 millions sterling	
The incident charge of the government	- - 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions.	
The yearly surplus applicable to the increase of	}	2 millions.
shipping, and to naval and military stores, or		
to lay up in money	- - - - -	
		10 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Which yearly surplus of 2 millions is capable of raising a bank, in ships of war, in naval and military stores, and in ready money, to the value of 20 millions sterling, upon the enjoyment of 10 years peace.

Supposing, then, that the present war has, in 7 years, cost France 70 millions, or comm<sup>s</sup> annis, 10 millions per annum—

They had, at the beginning thereof, in ships of war extra, and in stores and money, at least	} 10 millions sterling.
They have spared, out of the incident charges of the government, $\frac{2}{3}$ parts, or one million per annum; in all	} 7 millions sterling.
They have raised extra taxes 7 millions per annum, or	} 49 millions.
They have got by prizes at sea, and advantages at land	} 4 millions.
In all 70 millions.	

And the whole taxes and revenue of the crown, ordinary and extraordinary, have been  $17\frac{1}{2}$  millions per annum, or 25s. per head per annum.

AS to the State of FRANCE, Anno 1695 :

IT may well be presumed, that, by the interruption of trade, and the desertion of the refugees, the income of France is lessened 10 millions per annum, and is now but	} 74 millions sterling.
That the people of France are lessened $\frac{1}{2}$ of a million, and being now but 13,500,000 souls, have reduced their expence about 9s. per head per annum; viz. from £. 5. to £. 4. 11s.; whereby the present yearly consumption is	} $61\frac{1}{2}$ millions.
That the yearly charge of the war is now increased to	} 11 millions.
That the necessary charge of the government is still	} 7 millions.
The incident charges	} $0\frac{1}{2}$ million.
In all 80 millions.	

So that France does now actually decrease }  
 near a 12th part of its annual income, } 6 millions per annum.  
 or

AS to the State of HOLLAND, Anno 1688.

THAT Hoiland contains - - - - - 8 millions of acres.  
 That the number of people is - - - - - 2,200,000 souls.  
 That to each soul there is in land - - - - -  $3\frac{2}{3}$  acres.

That the rents of the land, houses, }  
 and hereditaments, is 10s. per } 4 millions sterling per annum.  
 acre, or - - - - - }

That the trade and business of Hol- }  
 land is - - - - - }  $13\frac{3}{4}$  millions sterling per annum.

So that the whole income of Hol- }  
 land is - - - - - }  $17\frac{3}{4}$  millions sterling per annum.

That the general income }  $17\frac{3}{4}$  millions sterling, is  $\text{£. s. d.}$   
 of Holland being - } 8 1 4 per head.

Whereof the taxes, or pub- }  
 lic revenue - - - - - }  $4\frac{3}{4}$  - Ditto - or 2 3 2 per head,

Consumption in diet, ap- }  
 parel, and incidental } 11 - Ditto - or 5 0 0 per head.  
 charges, over and above }  
 the taxes - - - - - }

Yearly increase - - - - - 2 - Ditto - or 0 18 2 per head.  
 $17\frac{3}{4}$  - Ditto - or 8 1 4 per head.

As to the  $4\frac{3}{4}$  Millions sterling public Revenue;

The ordinary Charge of the Government is,  $\text{£.2,750,000}$  }  
 Interest Money for 25 Millions, at 4 per Cent.  $1,000,000$  }  $\text{£.3,750,000}$  Sterling.  
 The Incidents or Discretionary Expences - - - - - 500,000 Sterling.  
 The yearly Surplus, applicable to the Increase of Shipping }  
 and to Naval and Military Stores, or to lay up in Money } - 500,000 Sterling.  
 $\text{£.4,750,000}$  Sterling.

Supposing, then, that the present war has, in 7 years, cost Holland  
 22 millions, or 3,150,000 sterling per annum—

They had, anno 1688, in ships of war extra- }  
 ordinary, and in stores and public money, } 5 millions sterling.  
 at least - - - - - }

They have applied, out of their ordinary reve- }  
 nue, the discretionary expences, and surplus, } 7 millions.  
 1 million per annum - - - - - }

They have raised extraordinary taxes of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  a }  
 million per annum, or - - - - - }  $10\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

In all  $22\frac{1}{2}$  millions.



## AS to the State of HOLLAND 1695 :

Supposing that the government is decreased  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Millions sterling, since the beginning of the war to the year 1695 :

Yet, considering, that by a more than ordinary frugality in diet, apparel, and such other incident charges, as relate to the consumption of things, which amounts to about 13 millions per annum, the people may well have saved a 26th part, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  a million per annum, of their ordinary expences. In all for 7 years - }  $\begin{matrix} \text{£.} \\ 3,500,000 \text{ sterling.} \end{matrix}$

And that, by a more than ordinary industry and application to trade, during the war, and the great benefit they have made thereof, by the high price of all foreign commodities, especially those from India (occasioned, in great measure, by the loss of so many English East India Ships, and the difficulties which the English East India Company hath lain under of late years) they may well have advanced their profit by trade half a million per annum more : In all for 7 years - } 3,500,000 sterling.

And, that out of the 2 millions yearly increase, in times of peace, the additional taxes this war having been but  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million per annum, there remains an increase of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a million per annum : In all for 7 years - } 3,500,000 sterling.

It follows, that the government is decreased -  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

Yet the people have increased -  $10\frac{1}{2}$  millions.

So that Holland, in general, is richer than at the beginning of the war, by } 6 millions.

Allowing, then, the present income of Holland to be half a million per annum more than in time of peace; viz. }  $\text{£.}18,250,000$  sterling;

The ordinary charge of the government - - 2,750,000 sterling;

Interest of money for 25 millions sterling - - 1,000,000;

The extraordinary charge of the war at a medium 3,150,000;

The yearly consumption half a million less than in time of peace - - - } 10,500,000;

In all  $\text{£.}17,400,000$  sterling:

It follows, that there is yet an annual increase in general of } - 850,000;

That is to say, the public revenue has decreased annually } - 650,000;

But the people have increased communibus annis } 1,500,000.



§ XII. THE STATE and CONDITION of the Three Nations, of ENGLAND, FRANCE, and HOLLAND, compared one with another, with respect to the Years 1688 and 1695.

THE EXPENCE of the Three Nations in DIET, I thus Estimate :

For Anno 1695,

	England.	France.	Holland.	In all.
1. In Bread, Bread Corn, Cakes, Biscuit, Pastry, Pudding, and all things made of meal or flour -	£.4,300,000	£.10,600,000	£.1,400,000	£.16,300,000
2. In Beef, Mutton, Veal, Lamb, Pigs, Pork, Bacon, Kids, Venison, Conies -	3,300,000	5,600,000	800,000	10,000,000
3. In Butter, Cheese, and Milk -	2,300,000	4,200,000	600,000	7,100,000
4. In Malt Drink, or Beer and Ale only -	5,800,000	100,000	1,200,000	7,100,000
5. In Wine, Brandy, Spirits, and strong Liquors, Cyder, Perry, Mum, Mead, Metheglin, and made Wines -	1,300,000	9,000,000	400,000	10,600,000
6. In Fish, Fowls, and Eggs -	1,700,000	3,900,000	1,100,000	6,500,000
7. In Fruit, Roots, and Garden Stuff -	1,200,000	3,600,000	400,000	5,200,000
8. In Salt, Oil, Pickles, Spices, Groceries, and Confectionary Ware, Jellies, Sweetmeats, &c. -	1,100,000	3,000,000	300,000	4,400,000
	<u>21,000,000</u>	<u>38,000,000</u>	<u>6,200,000</u>	<u>65,200,000</u>

Hence we may observe,

That, if England contain 5,500,000 souls, France 13½ millions, and Holland 2,200,000;—then each head spends, in Diet, one with another. £.3. 1s. 4d. per annum: viz. each head, in England, £.3. 16s. 5d.—In France, £.2. 16s. 2d.—In Holland, £.2. 16s. 5d.

According to the following Scheme:

	England:	France:	Holland:
1. Bread corn, &c. -	£.— 15 8	£.— 15 1	£.— 12 9
2. Flesh meat - - -	— 12 —	— 8 —	— 7 3
3. Butter, cheese, and milk -	— 8 5	— 6 —	— 5 6
4. Ale and beer - - -	— 1 1 1	— 2 —	— 10 11
5. Wine, spirits, and strong liquors - - -	— 4 8	— 12 11	— 3 8
6. Fish, fowl, and eggs -	— 6 2	— 5 7	— 10 —
7. Fruit, roots, and garden stuff - - -	— 4 4	— 5 2	— 3 8
8. Salt, oil, pickles, groceries, &c. - - -	— 4 —	— 4 3	— 2 8
	<u>£. 3 16 5</u>	<u>£. 2 16 2</u>	<u>£. 2 16 5</u>

§ XIII. — That the EXPENCE of the THREE NATIONS may be thus proportioned, for the Years 1688, and 1695.

	Diet.	Apparel.	Incident Charges.	General Expence.	General Income.	Increase.
A <sup>o</sup> 1688	England	£. 21,500,000	£. 10,400,000	£. 10,500,000	£. 4,500,000	£. 1,800,000
	France	41,000,000	18,500,000	21,000,000	80,500,000	3,500,000
	Holland	6,400,000	3,000,000	6,350,000	15,750,000	2,000,000
	68,700,000	32,400,000	37,350,000	138,450,000	147,250,000	3,300,000
A <sup>o</sup> 1695	England	£. 21,000,000	£. 10,200,000	£. 14,300,000	£. 45,500,000	£. 3,000,000 Decrease.
	France	33,000,000	16,000,000	26,500,000	80,000,000	74,000,000 Decrease.
	Holland	6,200,000	2,800,000	8,400,000	17,400,000	18,250,000 Increase.
	65,200,000	31,000,000	49,200,000	147,900,000	141,750,000	6,150,000 Decrease.

LASTLY, As to the general Account of England, France, and Holland, for the years 1688, and 1695;

I have added this further Scheme:—

	Number of People.	Yearly Income per Head.	Public Revenue and Taxes.	Taxes per Head.	Annual Consumption besides Taxes.	Consumption per Head.	Annual Increase in all.	Increase per Head.
A <sup>o</sup> 1688	England	5,500,000	£. 2,000,000	£. 7	£. 39,700,000	£. 7	£. 1,800,000	6 8
	France	14,000,000	10,500,000	15	70,500,000	5	5,000,000	7 —
	Holland	2,200,000	4,750,000	2 3	11,000,000	5	2,000,000	18 4
	21,700,000.	6 15 9	17,250,000	15 10	124,200,000	5 11 9	8,800,000	8 1
A <sup>o</sup> 1695	England	5,450,000	£. 6,500,000	£. 1 4	£. 39,000,000	£. 7 3	£. 3,000,000	11 — Decr.
	France	13,500,000	17,500,000	1 5	62,500,000	4 18 2	6,000,000	8 10 Decr.
	Holland	2,240,000	8 2 9	6,500,000	3 1 7	15,500,000	4 13 9	850,000
	21,190,000	6 12 —	33,900,000	1 8 10	117,000,000	5 9 4	6,150,000	5 9 Decr.

Hence it follows, that, from the year 1688 to 1695, England has decreased, in people, 50,000; France, 500,000; and Holland is increased 40,000.

That England is decreased, in its Income, a million; France 10 millions; but Holland is increased half a million.

That England has raised extraordinary taxes, communibus annis, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions per annum; France 7 millions per annum; Holland about a million and a half per annum.

That England has lessened its ordinary expence £.700,000 per annum; France 8 millions; Holland half a million.

Lastly, That if England decreased annually 3 millions sterling, or a 14th part of its annual income, and France 6 millions, or near a 12th part of 74 millions, the decrease of England is in proportion to the decrease of France but as 6 to 7; whereas Holland increases a 21th part,

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N<sup>o</sup> II.—A SCHEME of the INHABITANTS

Civit. Glouc <sup>r</sup> 1696.	An EXTRACT from the ASSESSMENT				
Parishes and Precincts.	Number of Houses or Families.	Husbands.	Wives.	Widowers.	Widows.
The College Precinct -	43	21	21	7	15
St. Mary de Load - -	115	64	65	10	43
St. Nicholas - - - -	236	175	175	49	90
Trinity Parish - - - -	102	72	72	7	30
St. Michael - - - -	113	77	77	12	32
St. Aldates - - - -	75	51	51	2	14
St. Mary de Grace - -	35	24	24	1	10
St. John Baptift - - -	148	109	109	5	29
St. Katherine - - - -	98	75	75	5	29
St. Mary de Cript - -	121	77	77	13	28
St. Ewens - - - -	40	25	25	1	15
The Total, in 1696 -	1,126	770	771	112	335
Do. - in 1801 -	1,325	-	-	-	-

## of the City of GLOUCESTER.

on MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, and BURIALS: per Gregory King, Esq.

Bachelors, Housekeepers, Maids, Housekeepers.	Children at home with their Parents.		Servants.		Sojourners.		Number of		TOTAL of the Number of SOULS.
	Sons.	Daughters.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
3 0	22	37	8	30	2	8	63	111	174
1 8	87	107	4	2	11	16	177	241	418
14 0	194	244	52	75	6	16	490	600	1,090
5 6	76	82	22	29	1	2	183	221	404
37 2	93	121	33	46	1	9	253	287	504
8 8	67	72	3	3	0	4	131	152	283
2 0	21	29	10	18	0	3	58	84	142
5 13	121	148	28	26	17	24	285	349	634
3 5	100	102	0	2	11	15	194	228	422
21 5	84	93	31	45	12	27	238	275	513
1 5	24	25	3	3	3	6	57	79	136
100 52	889	1,060	194	279	64	130	2,129	2,627	4,756
- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	3,428	4,151	7,579



## No. III.

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A COMPUTATION of the Endowed HOSPITALS, and  
ALMS-HOUSES, in England.

## HOSPITALS AND ALMS-HOUSES.

The four great hospitals of London, viz. Christ- church, St. Bartholomew, Bridewell, and St. Thomas, have a certain revenue in rents of about - - - - -	} £. 10,000 per ann.
And by fines and contingent charities, about - -	15,000 per ann.
Besides which, there may be, within the bills of mortality, about 100 hospitals, or endowed alms- houses, of about £.200 per annum each - -	} 20,000 per ann. <hr/>
In all	45,000 per ann.
There may be, in the rest of the cities and market towns of the kingdom, 500 other hospitals and alms-houses, of about £.140 per annum each -	} 70,000 per ann.
There may be in the rest of the kingdom about 500 hospitals and alms-houses more, of about £.100 per annum each - - - - -	} 50,000 per ann. <hr/>
In all	165,000 per ann. <hr/> <hr/>

	In LONDON.			The REST of the KINGDOM.
	The four great Hof- pitals.	The 100 lesser Alms-houfes.	The Cities and Mar- ket Towns.	
Number of hospitals or alms-houfes	4	100	500	500
Number of poor maintained in each	250	14	12	10
Number of poor maintained in the whole	1,000	1,400	6,000	5,000
Charge of the poor per head	£. 16	£. 11	£. 10	£. 8 10
Total charge of the poor main- tained in the faid hospitals or alms-houfes	£. 16,000	£. 15,400	£. 60,000	£. 42,500
Number of officers, fervants, or affiftants, in all	200	120	300	250
Charge of the faid officers, fervants, and affiftants, per head	£. 30	£. 20	£. 15	£. 12
Total charge of the faid officers, fervants, and affiftants	6,000	2,400	4,500	3,000
Contingent expences in repairs, &c.	3,000	2,200	5,500	4,500
Contingent expences per head to the number of the poor	£. 3	£. 1 11	£. 19	£. 18
Total charge of the faid hospitals and alms-houfes	25,000	20,000	70,000	50,000
Total number of the inhabitants of England		530,000	870,000	4,100,000
Proportion of people to one person fo maintained		220	145	800.



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